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FOR BOOKS RELATING TO
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A POLITICAL HISTORY OF WISCONSIN.

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A POLITICAL HISTORY OF WISCONSIN.

THERE IS NO ROMANCE LIKE THAT OF HISTORY. INDEED, IN A LARGE SENSE, HISTORY IS ROMANCE; FOR LIFE ITSELF IS STRANGE AND MYSTERIOUS, AND ALL ITS HAPPENINGS ARE FILLED WITH DRAMATIC ELEMENTS WHICH NEED BUT THE TOUCH OF IMAGINATION TO GLOW AS THE DULL CARBON FLASHES INTO LIGHT WHEN QUICKENED BY THE ELECTRIC CURRENT. ALL THE YEARS HAVE VOICES FOR THEM THAT WILL HEAR; AND EVEN THE SIMPLE ANNALS OF COMMONPLACE EVENTS HAVE IN THE HEARTS OF THEM EPIC POSSIBILITIES.—

GEORGE R. PECK.

BY

A. M. THOMSON.

E. C. WILLIAMS.
342 BROADWAY, MILWAUKEE, WIS.
1900.

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PREFACE.

The first draft of this "Political History of Wisconsin," by A. M. Thomson, was made for The Milwaukee Sentinel, and published in the Sunday edition of that newspaper from week to week until concluded, the initial installment appearing in the issue of January 2, 1898. A resident of Wisconsin for nearly fifty years, and during most of that time active and influential in journalism and politics, Mr. Thomson was widely regarded as the man above all others best fitted to write the history of politics in Wisconsin, and he undertook the task in response to numerous urgent requests. It proved to be the final work of his life. When the closing chapters saw the light of print, he was on his death-bed. But even in the extremity of mortal illness, his mind was busy with the history, and he wrote several letters to publishers with reference to bringing it out in book form. He carefully revised the earlier chapters for final publication, and gave explicit directions, which have been scrupulously carried out, regarding the revision of the remainder. It is the belief of those who have been concerned in the erection of this monument fashioned by his own brain and hand, that, in the artistic and substantial form in which it is here presented, his work appears as he would have wished to see it.

The history which Mr. Thomson proposed to write begins with the Ordinance of 1787 and comes down to the election of Scofield and McKinley in 1896. It is not constructed on the lines of what is termed critical history, which is generally dry; neither is it a mere chronicle—a chronicle is also dry. Mr. Thomson's work is for the most part cast in the narrative form. The chief personages with whom it deals were intimately known to the author, and he draws them from life, illustrating their characteristics by happy anecdotes. His easy, graceful, lucid style invests

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with interest even the discussions of party principles which necessarily come within the scope of such a work. The early steps in the organization of political parties in Wisconsin are graphically sketched, and the heated campaign which resulted in the defeat of the first draft of a State constitution is fully described and explained, together with the fight over the boundary, in which the members of the constitutional conventions and territorial Legislatures saw fit to pit themselves against Congress and the Federal government. The years which followed the organization of the State government were full of exciting political occurrences. The Judge Hubbell impeachment trial; the escape and rescue of the slave Joshua Glover; the Bashford-Barstow litigation—very much like a revolution—in which the judiciary was called upon to decide who was Governor of Wisconsin; the conflict in the Booth case between the Supreme Court of Wisconsin and the Supreme Court of the United States; the corruption at the capital in 1856, when bribes were received from a railway corporation by the Governor and most of the members of both houses of the Legislature of Wisconsin, all these stirring incidents, episodes and events of Wisconsin's political history are brought before the reader in procession. Then the writer devotes himself to recounting the part which Wisconsin played in the great drama of the Civil war. There is on one side of the picture the patriotic response to the call for troops, and on the other the Ryan address and the draft riots in Washington and Ozaukee counties. Mr. Thomson was "the man who started the ball rolling" for Matt. H. Carpenter for United States Senator in 1869, and who headed the successful opposition to his reëlection in 1875. Both campaigns are vividly recalled, not in a one-sided way, but in a manner which shows Plutarch's impartial desire that "both the Greeks and the Romans shall be accorded fair treatment." Wisconsin was the first State in the Union whose Legislature successfully attempted to set a limit to the amount of fare that might be charged by railways. The Potter law and the Grange movement, of which it was the outcome, have full justice done them in Mr. Thomson's history. So have the two great struggles on the money question—that of 1875-1877, when the issue was "honest money vs. greenback infla-

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tion," and that of 1896, when the issue was "sound money vs. silver inflation." The Bennett Law, the reapportionment squabble and the treasury cases—each comes in for impartial treatment, and there is an interesting non-controversial survey of the temperance movement in Wisconsin.

A brief review of the author's life is a fitting prelude to his book. "Alexander McDonald Thomson was born in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, May 30, 1822. His father removed with the family to Trumbull county, Ohio, when he was two years old. His ancestors were Scotch on his father's side, the grandfather coming from Paisley, and his mother was a Pennsylvania Dutchwoman. Naturally he possessed some of the characteristics of both races—the tenacity of the Scotch and the stubbornness of the Dutch. For thirty-five years after his advent in Ohio, Mr. Thomson, as boy and man, resided in the famous old Giddings-Garfield congressional district. Then, in 1849, he removed to Wisconsin. He was educated in the common schools and at the Western Reserve Teachers' Seminary and Normal School, located at Kirtland, Ohio. In early life he followed the business of teaching. He married Miss Emeline L. Peck, June 11, 1846, at Bloomfield, Ohio. She died July 8, 1892. On his arrival in Wisconsin he settled first at Hartford, Washington county, and engaged in farming. About five thousand Wisconsin farmers mortgaged their farms to different railroad companies for stock in the corporations, between 1850 and 1860, as a means of helping build the roads—a scheme for raising the wind that proved very disastrous to many of the mortgagors. The mortgages had ten years to run, and bore 10 per cent. interest, no interest to be paid until due. Many of the roads never were built. Every one of those built became bankrupt. When pay day came, there was great excitement in the State, as some of the holders at once began to foreclose the mortgages upon the farmers' homesteads. The farmers formed a State organization in self-defense, holding that they had been defrauded; and, like the Barnburners of New York, they resolved to resist the collection of the mortgages to the death. In order to hold the organization compactly together, and disseminate information on the subject, they established a weekly

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paper, and Mr. Thomson became its editor, issuing the first number August 11, 1860. It was called The Home Journal, and was published at Hartford. In 1859 Mr. Thomson became associate editor of The Free Democrat, then published by S. M. Booth, in the city of Milwaukee. In 1864 he became part owner and editor of The Janesville Daily Gazette, in which capacity he continued six years. During his residence in Janesville he twice represented the city in the Assembly of the State, and was Speaker of the House at both sessions; being each time chosen by acclamation in the Republican caucus. In 1863 he was sergeant-at-arms of the Assembly, and again in 1864. In the Republican State convention of 1869, the Rock county delegation presented his name as a suitable person to be nominated for Governor of Wisconsin. In 1870 he became editor-in-chief of The Milwaukee Sentinel, which position he held until 1874. In 1873 many of the Republican papers urged him to be a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, but he declined the honor. In that year he published a volume of the poems which he had contributed from time to time to his paper, and which were written amid the cares and confusion of journalism. The title of the volume was "The Poems of a Day." After leaving The Sentinel he became the associate editor of The Chicago Evening Journal, which position he held for nearly four years, when failing health drove him to the "New Northwest," where he opened up and improved one of the finest wheat farms in North Dakota. In his retirement his pen was not allowed to rust, and his articles on agriculture, written on his farm, had a wide circulation. During his residence in North Dakota the Republican papers often used his name as a candidate for Congress and for other places of honor and trust. In 1892 he returned to Milwaukee. January 24, 1894, he was married to Miss Annie E. Greenman, of Chicago. He had no children."

The above modest sketch, never heretofore published, was prepared by Mr. Thomson himself, at the instance of a friend, in 1895. He died June 9, 1898.

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INTRODUCTION.

SEVERAL histories of Wisconsin have already been written. Some of these books have been mostly devoted to an account of the different tribes of Indians that inhabited the territory before the appearance of the white man; their habits, customs, wars, and traditions, together with the story of the early missionaries and explorers—of Nicollet, Marquette, Joliet, Dubuque, Carver, and the others who came hither as the advance guard of civilization. This was the unique and picturesque epoch, and relates chiefly to that romantic, traditional period before and after the land which is now known as Wisconsin was under the rule of France for eighty-nine years, and under the dominion of Great Britain for thirty-five years. This account was begun early and is not yet completed. That distinguished scholar, scientist, and historian, Dr. Increase A. Lapham, whose name and fame will live as long as the State endures, and whose memory we all revere, began the fascinating narrative in 1844, four years before Wisconsin took her place in the sisterhood of States, and two years later his work was supplemented in part by himself and McLeod. Both of these fragmentary histories were written by authors who were looking backward over their shoulders into the dim and shadowy past where guesswork is often substituted for fact, and where much depends upon the imagination. Eight years later, the venerable and accomplished William R. Smith made a compilation of facts and events, which were published under the authority of the State, and embraced in two volumes, to be found in the library of the State Historical Society. Next in order came "Tut-

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tle's Illustrated History of Wisconsin" in 1875, which has been described by a contemporary writer as "an undigested mass of annals, filled with glaring inaccuracies," but which the student will find useful as to dates. In 1878, Snyder, Van Vechten & Co., of Milwaukee, published a "Historical Atlas of Wisconsin," the writing being done chiefly by C. W. Butterfield, which not only contained a complete history of the State up to that time, but gave an accurate and interesting account of each county, and which makes a valuable book for reference. Then ten years later, Moses M. Strong wrote a territorial history of Wisconsin, leaving off with the admission of the State. This book, like Smith's, was printed at the expense of the State. Smith, Tuttle, and Strong have each done a valuable service for the future historian in collecting, arranging and preserving an immense amount of valuable information relating to early times in Wisconsin. In 1888, Horace A. Tenney and David Atwood printed a book entitled "The Fathers of Wisconsin," being a collection of biographical sketches of the members of the two conventions which met to frame a constitution for the State. It should not be overlooked that Smith, Strong, Tenney and Atwood were all pioneers in Wisconsin, who were personally acquainted with every man of prominence in the territory and State of all political parties. They knew what they were about, for "all of it they saw, and much of it they were!" Then there are other sketches, papers, addresses, essays, reminiscences and biographies, of great interest to the student, a rich repository of knowledge, to be found in the Wisconsin State Historical Society's collections, of which over a dozen volumes have already been published. Some fine historical chapters are also embodied in the histories of the different counties, which are correct in detail and valuable for the library. Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites, the industrious secretary of the State Historical Society, has written "The Story of Wisconsin," and has told it as well as

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it can be told in twelve short chapters. The Sentinel Company has issued a book bearing the title "Leading Events of Wisconsin History," but much more elaborate, by Henry E. Legler.

Dr. Lapham has written about the "Antiquities of Wisconsin," and P. R. Hoy has interested himself and others by asking hard questions on the difficult subject of "Who Built the Mounds?" If the pre-historic man is of interest, and if the mound-builders still serve to arrest our attention and puzzle our curiosity, surely it would seem that some fuller account of the lives and public services of the men who founded our great commonwealth, though it be less romantic and less picturesque, is worthy of preservation by the present and succeeding generations. The capitol and the State University at Madison, the colleges, libraries, hospitals, normal schools, and eleëmosynary institutions, scattered all over the State, are "mounds" built by a generation of men who have done much more for posterity and for Christian civilization than the rude barbarians who left their "footprints on the sands of time" at a period so remote that no one can tell whence they came or whither they went. We laud the educator to the skies, and properly so; but we are apt to forget that to found a university or a college, or to sustain a public school system, there must be governors, congressmen, and legislators, and back of all these the taxpayers, who must provide the ways and means, or nothing can be accomplished. We may sneer at the politician, but he has his uses, and he has been found to be an essential factor in modern affairs, and under any form of government, democratic or aristocratic. "Men constitute the State," and in attempting to write a brief "Political History of Wisconsin," it will be my purpose to give an unprejudiced and faithful account of the public services and some of the more striking personal characteristics of those who did so much to develop the resources of our grand commonwealth, those who helped to frame her constitution, to pass and execute her laws,

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who stood for her honor and dignity in the halls of Congress, and who have made the name of Wisconsin respected wherever it is heard.

"Thou, too, sail on, O ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all its hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!

* * *

Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee!
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee, are all with thee!"

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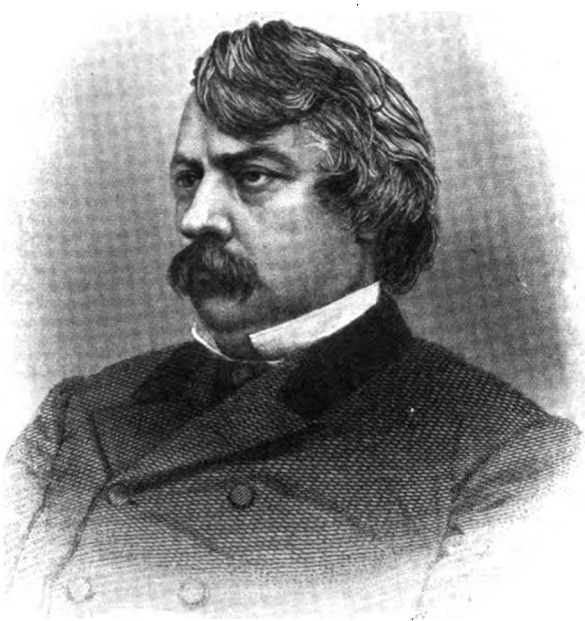

Matt. H. Carpenter

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A PHILADELPHIAN'S WORKS.

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A Political History of Wisconsin.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

The passage of the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, by the Continental Congress, extended the federal jurisdiction over the Northwest territory, which included the section of country that is now known as the State of Wisconsin. "It led to the exercise of national sovereignty in the sense of eminent domain." At the close of the Revolutionary war, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Virginia made conflicting and irreconcilable claims to the territory west of the Allegheny mountains, and north of the Ohio river, and the dispute over the title was angry and long-continued, threatening serious trouble for some time. The controversy included all the land comprising what is now the great States of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and Michigan. Massachusetts wanted what is now the southern portion of Wisconsin and Michigan. Connecticut claimed a narrow strip running across the north end of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. New York would be satisfied with almost everything north of the Ohio river. Lastly came Virginia, who notified all the other claimants that she was the original possessor of all the land out of which the thirteen colonies had been carved; that Massachusetts had been under her jurisdiction until 1614; that she was then in actual possession of a good share of the territory claimed by the others, and that her title was indisputable. Maryland, whose isolated position made her jealous of the influence

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and growth of the larger States, brought matters to a crisis by resolutely declaring that she would never ratify the Articles of Confederation until all these States laying claims to portions of the Northwest territory relinquished them to the federal authority, and her demand was at last reluctantly complied with after a long and acrimonious discussion.

It is worthy of remark here that the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 was an illegal act, the Continental Congress having acted, as Madison said, "without the least color of constitutional authority." Yet Madison warmly commended the act, and Daniel Webster said: "I doubt whether one single law of any law-giver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked and lasting character, than the Ordinance of 1787." But it was a usurpation of authority for the common good, like the Louisiana purchase from France in 1805, by Mr. Jefferson, whereby we acquired the title to the mouth of the Mississippi, or to cite a later example, similar to the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation by President Lincoln, which was a war measure, to put down a great rebellion, and to set free 4,000,000 of slaves, but which had no warrant in the Constitution.

From 1787 to 1800, the right of civil government was vested by the Ordinance of 1787; from May 7, 1800, to January 11, 1805, jurisdiction over Wisconsin was exercised by the territory of Indiana; from January 11, 1805, until February 3, 1809, by the territory of Michigan; from February 3, 1809, until December 3, 1818, by the territory of Illinois; and from December 3, 1818, until July 4, 1836, Michigan again had jurisdiction.

Political activity of any importance seldom begins in a new territory until it has been duly organized by an act of Congress, and the territorial officers are appointed by the President of the United States. Then the politicians begin to show themselves. The most active and prominent of the kind ever seen in Wisconsin, and the man most closely identified with her history and development was James Duane Doty, who was born in Salem, Washington county, N. Y., in 1799. He did not bear the degree of any college, but he had been carefully educated in private institutions, and was admitted to the bar when quite young, after careful prep-

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aration. He began life by holding office, and he died while acting as governor of the territory of Utah, under the appointment of President Lincoln. He settled in Detroit in 1818, and while there he was elected secretary of the legislative council and clerk of the court. He had become a special favorite of Gen. Lewis Cass, and, in 1820, he had made the celebrated tour with him in canoes from Detroit through Lakes Huron and Superior, and thence to the headwaters of the Mississippi river, an interesting account of which was afterwards published by Henry R. Schoolcraft. In 1823 young Doty was appointed by President Monroe additional judge for Michigan territory, and was subsequently appointed for four years, from February 1, 1824. He was the first judge to hold a court of general jurisdiction within the borders of Wisconsin. He was reappointed by President John Quincy Adams, from February 1, 1828. He was on the ground twelve years before the territory was detached from Michigan, holding court first at Prairie du Chien, and next at Green Bay, for eight years, until the expiration of his term in 1832, when he devoted himself to land speculation and politics, and along both these lines of activity he was quite successful, as will appear farther on. He never had a high standing at the bar, and it is as a successful politician that he is held in remembrance. When he left the bench he did not resume the active practice of his profession, the presumption being that his equipment did not warrant it. He was a judge at 25.

Judge Doty was active in getting Wisconsin organized as a territory, and it was natural that he should be an applicant for the office of governor, when the time came for the President to make the appointment. He certainly had superior qualifications for the office. He was the first federal judge; he had resided in the territory for over twelve years; he had traveled over the most of it; knew its people and its resources better than any other man, and, unlike most territorial appointees, he intended to make Wisconsin his permanent home. Here began the quarrel between Doty and Dodge that lasted all their lives. Doty was beaten in the first round, and knocked out by Henry Dodge. When the appointment of territorial officers was made, Andrew Jackson was President of the United States. He was one of the fathers of the

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Democratic party, a stout believer in the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils," and he at once applied that rule in setting the wheels of the government of the new territory in motion. The man who invented civil service reform had not then been born.

President Jackson placed none but Democrats on guard. In this he had two objects in view, both of which had their inspiration in partisanship. The first object was to reward his own supporters in the territory and select good officers, and in the second place, to strengthen the administration at Washington by securing two new United States Senators whenever the new State was admitted into the Union. History records the fact that, as a rule, seldom departed from, the first Senators chosen to represent a new State have been the men who have been governors or other territorial officers, appointed by the President. This practice held good in the case of Wisconsin.

President Jackson selected for the first Governor of Wisconsin Henry Dodge, who took the oath of office July 4, 1836. The appointment gave general satisfaction. Gen. Dodge had long been a resident of the territory and had won distinction as an Indian fighter. His military career had some strong points of resemblance to that of Gen. Jackson himself, and he was all the more popular on that account among the pioneer settlers. He had taken the ferocious Indian chief, Black Hawk, a prisoner, and had exterminated the remnant of his tribe.

"Henry Dodge," says Reuben G. Thwaites, in his Story of Wisconsin, "had been one of the leading spirits in the lead mines for years, and was in command of the Michigan militia west of Lake Michigan during the Red Bird uprising and the Black Hawk war. A man of fine physical appearance, prompt action and pompous manner, he won the reputation of being a brave and dashing partisan leader, instilling fear into the breasts of the Winnebagos, over whom he was fond of domineering, and fostering emulation among the picturesque band of free rangers whom he led to scouting service along the threatened frontier. Dodge was deficient in early education and was greatly overestimated by the majority of his contemporaries; nevertheless he discharged his various duties, military and civil, in a creditable manner."

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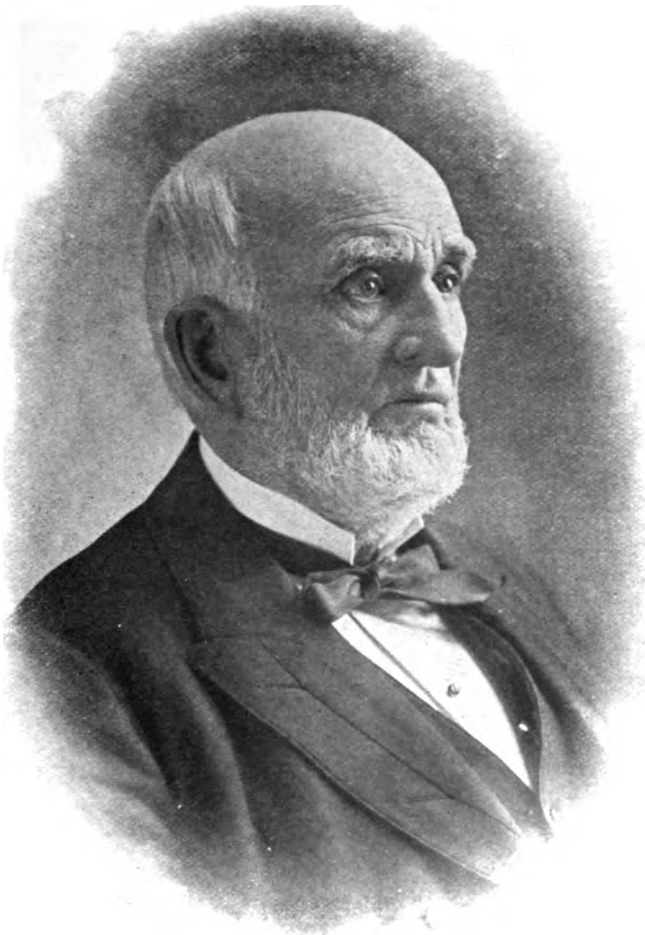

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The other appointments were John S. Horner of Virginia, secretary; Charles Dunn of Illinois, Chief Justice; David Irvin of Virginia, and William C. Frazer of Pennsylvania, associate judges; W. W. Chapman, attorney, and Francis Gehon, marshal—the two latter being residents of what is now the State of Iowa. Of these judges an early historian testifies as follows: "The people of Wisconsin, in territorial times, were particularly fortunate in that the judges who administered the law were educated, intelligent, learned in the law, of undoubted integrity, and diligent and faithful to their trusts." Of these Judge Dunn was the most prominent, his public service outliving territorial times and extending far into the life of the State itself. He was one of the framers of the present constitution and he acted for a while as the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He has left the impress of his genius and professional learning upon the statutes of the commonwealth.

A census was taken by the sheriffs in August, 1836, and the population of the territory was found to be 22,218—about one half of whom resided in what is now Iowa. On the 9th of September, Governor Dodge issued his proclamation apportioning the members of the Council and House of Representatives, and convening the Legislature to meet in Belmont, Iowa county, on October 25, for the purpose of organizing the first session of the Legislature. The proclamation also directed that at the same time a delegate to the Congress should be elected for two years. As there had been no political lines drawn in the territory up to this date, the election of members of the Legislature was conducted upon personal and local grounds, and men were generally chosen with regard to personal fitness rather than because they were Whigs or Democrats. George W. Jones was elected as a delegate to Congress at this election, his opponent being Moses Meeker, and the issue was made upon the alleged preference of Col. Jones for the permanent location of the seat of government for the new territory.

The Legislature consisted of thirteen members of the Council, and twenty-six members of the House of Representatives. The Council organized by electing Henry S. Baird president, Edward

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McSherry secretary, and William Henry sergeant-at-arms. In the House of Representatives, Peter Hill Engle was elected speaker, Warren Lewis chief clerk, and Jessie M. Harrison sergeant-at-arms. In some respects it was a peculiar assemblage of men. They came chiefly from Lake Michigan on the east, and the lead mines and vicinity on the west. The representatives from both regions were typical of the population. The men from the eastern and southern portion of the territory were natives of New England and Middle States, Pennsylvania contributing nearly one fourth of the members of the House. The lead mines sent a delegation whose members had, for the most part, been born in the slave States, hence the prevalence of the pro-slavery sentiment among them. Of the twenty-six members of the popular branch of the Legislature, twelve were born in the South. It is easy to see that there were no Abolitionists among them. In both branches there were only three foreign-born citizens, and they were all Irishmen. Not a member was born in Germany, or in any other province where the German language was spoken. The Council purged itself of any suspicion of nativism by electing an Irishman, Henry S. Baird, to preside over its deliberations. Political differences were not in evidence, and the choice often turned upon some local question, such as the division of a county, the location of a county seat, and sometimes, perhaps, upon the fitness of the candidate for the business of legislation. National politics cut no figure, although men calling themselves Democrats were largely in the majority, that being the brand of politics most popular in the territory at the time, and all appointees, both by the President and the Governor, belonged to that party. "The great and paramount question of the session," says Moses M. Strong, "was the location of the seat of government. To this all others were subordinate and made subservient." For four weeks the contest was kept up among the advocates of the different towns before a choice was finally made, the points voted for being Madison, Fond du Lac, Dubuque, Portage, Helena, Milwaukee, Racine, Belmont, Green Bay, Koshkonong, and other places, but it was settled at last in favor of Madison by a majority of one in the Council and six in the House of Representatives. "Madison town lots in large num-

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bers," says Strong's history of the territory, "were freely distributed among members, their friends, and others who were supposed to have influence with them." The town plat of Madison was then owned by James Duane Doty, who was afterwards conspicuous in political life, first as a delegate in Congress and governor of the territory, and as a member of Congress, after the State was admitted. Without passing judgment upon the methods adopted by Judge Doty to secure the location of the capital upon his ground, it can be asserted without fear of contradiction that a more beautiful location could not have been selected.

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CHAPTER II.

DRAWING PARTY LINES.

The first official term of Governor Dodge was not characterized by any political excitement. All the federal officers felt secure in their places and there was no effort made to displace them. That sublime old scriptural poet, Job, probably had the contented and well-paid officeholder in his mind's eye when he made the sarcastic inquiry: "Doth the wild ass bray when he hath grass? or loweth the ox over his fodder?" If these questions had been asked during Dodge's first term, they would have been answered in the negative. Men's minds were too much engrossed in those days with business cares, the improvement of farms, the division of counties, the location of county seats, and the laying out of wagon roads, to care much for office. They were busy organizing new townships, carving out new school districts, breaking prairie, building houses, bridging rivers, and doing all the necessary work in developing a new empire. The people were fully alive to the necessity of improvement of rivers and harbors by the general government, although the dominant sentiment in the territory was Democratic, and it was well known that the national Democratic party at that time was decidedly opposed to such a system. Governor Dodge, however, warmly endorsed the policy of internal improvements in his first message to the first territorial Legislature, and acting upon his recommendation, it petitioned Congress for large sums of money to improve the harbors of Lake Michigan. The Governor's views on this important subject are expressed in the subjoined extract:

"The improvement of the navigation of Rock river I consider a subject of vital importance to the future prosperity of this territory. This river waters a large extent of fertile country and a small appropriation by Congress would be sufficient to remove

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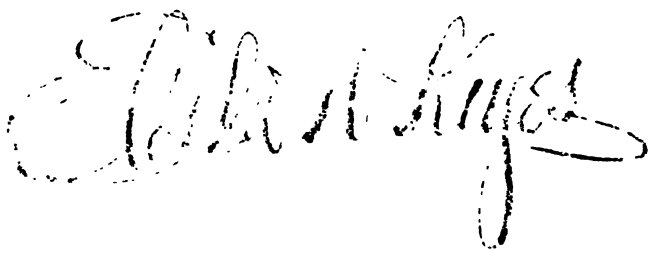

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obstructions in its navigation. It is known that from the outlet of the Four Lakes, that discharges itself into the Rock, the distance to the Rock river does not exceed twelve miles by land, and from the Fourth Lake it is not more than sixteen miles to the Wisconsin river. The great advantage of this inland communication must be apparent."

The reader will probably smile at the enthusiasm of the Governor over the prospect of making the streams which he names navigable; but he simply gave expression to the confidence of the people generally at that time in the ultimate accomplishment of all the proposed enterprises. Every candidate for delegate to Congress had to pledge himself unreservedly to try to secure large appropriations for such improvements, and the elections hinged on that issue. The Fox and Wisconsin river improvement had many friends, and the lake shore interests at Racine, Kenosha, Milwaukee, Sheboygan and Manitowoc became alarmed and jealous lest those harbors would be neglected, and too much attention be paid to the rivers, and it was the lake shore influence that elected Isaac P. Walker to the United States Senate.

The members of the first territorial Legislature had quite as enlarged views of the wants and future possibilities of Wisconsin's internal navigation as their Governor entertained, for they not only wanted all the rivers in the interior and harbors on the lake improved at national cost, but they struck out boldly for a grant of land for a railroad across the State from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river. "It is a subject of great interest to the citizens of this territory," said the Governor, "and has strong claims on the patronage of the government." But it was fifteen years later, in 1851, before Holton, Kilbourn, Brodhead, Tweedy, and their associates, directors and promoters of the Milwaukee & Waukesha Railroad, ran their first train of cars into the latter village.

At that session three banks were chartered. They were reckless enterprises. They all failed in a few months, and the loss sustained by the community by the failure of the Mineral Point Bank alone, was over $200,000. No wonder that the men who framed the first constitution were uncompromisingly opposed to State banks, after the sad and costly experience they had had with

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wildcat banks, and the losses that the people had sustained by their failure.

At the regular session of the Legislature in 1837, the following important acts were passed:

The act abolishing imprisonment for debt.

The act establishing the University of Wisconsin.

The act incorporating the Milwaukee and Rock River Canal Company.

The political excitement in the year 1838 centered in the election of delegate to Congress, and by reason of the unusual number of candidates in the field, considerable interest was manifested. George W. Jones, who had disgraced himself and Wisconsin by acting as second in the Cilley-Graves duel, announced himself as a candidate, after being nominated by public meetings held in Milwaukee and Mineral Point. Morgan L. Martin was nominated at several meetings held in Brown county, but he declined to be a candidate. At a territorial convention held in Madison, August 29, at which several counties were represented by delegates, James Duane Doty was nominated. Thomas J. Burnett had already announced himself as an independent candidate early in July, and stumped the territory in his own favor. All three of the candidates claimed to be Democrats. The returns showed the following result: Doty, 1,758; Jones, 1,174; Burnett, 920. Burnett died shortly after. He was a talented man, and had he lived he would have taken high rank among the noted men of the State. Jones emigrated to Iowa soon after, became United States Senator from that State, often voted with the slaveholders while in Congress, and, during the late Civil war, he was sent to Fort Lafayette for disloyalty to the government.

The legislative Assembly which convened at Madison December 2, 1839, was a notable assemblage on many accounts. There was not a foreign-born citizen in it. The Council consisted of the unlucky number, thirteen, and it contained the names of several gentlemen who were afterwards prominent in political affairs in the Territory and the State for many years. James Collins, a Whig, who had presided over the previous Council, was reëlected president on the nineteenth ballot, the contest having been pro-

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tracted for four days. Among the Councilmen were to be found the stalwart Morgan L. Martin, conspicuous in territorial transactions, and the friend and partner of Solomon Juneau in the settlement of Milwaukee; Charles C. B. Arndt, who was shot and killed by James R. Vineyard in the Council chamber at that session (see Note at end of Chapter); John H. Rountree, who had been active with General Dodge, in defeating Black Hawk, the noted Indian chief and warrior, and in making a treaty of peace with the hostile Sacs; James R. Vineyard, who killed Arndt; James Collins, twice president of the Council and afterwards the Whig candidate for Congress for his district; Levi Sterling, for many years an active politician and legislator from Iowa county; a farmer, born in Kentucky; William A. Prentiss of Milwaukee, where he settled in 1836, and was prominent as its mayor and in city affairs, and Daniel Wells, Jr., afterwards a representative in Congress from the Milwaukee district from 1853 to 1857. About one third of the Councilmen were natives of slave States. In the House of Representatives were to be found such well-known gentlemen as Charles C. Sholes, who, with his brother, C. Latham Sholes, was among the first newspaper men in the territory. Both were prominent in the State, first as Democrats and then as Free Soilers and Republicans. C. L. Sholes was one of the greatest inventors of the age. Then there was Nelson Dewey, who served two terms as Governor of Wisconsin; Horatio N. Wells, a well-known lawyer and judge in Milwaukee, and Edward V. Whiton, afterwards the eminent Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Of the twenty-six members of the House fifteen were farmers.

As the Democrats held all the territorial offices that depended upon the appointment of the President and the Governor, and as a majority of the leading men belonged to the same party, they were satisfied to accept all the loaves and fishes without drawing party lines, or making national politics an issue. The choice of members of the Territorial Legislature usually turned on personal fitness, the choice generally falling to a Democrat, that party being usually in evidence, though many prominent Whigs were chosen to represent their respective districts. It was not until 1839 that the first Democratic meeting was held at Mineral

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Point on April 13, which recommended to their "Fellow Democrats" in the several counties that they appoint delegates to a territorial convention to meet in Madison on the first Monday in June, and in a few days a call was issued for a convention to be held at the capitol June 18. A convention met June 3, and the delegates from four counties organized a "Democratic" convention. On the 18th day of June, another set of delegates, representing six counties, met in Madison and organized a "territorial convention," which seems to have been packed in the interest of James D. Doty as the delegate to Congress. At any rate, Mr. Doty was nominated unanimously. The Democratic convention which had assembled June 3 and adjourned to the 19th, reassembled on that date. The informal ballot showed that Byron Kilbourn was greatly in the lead, with Morgan L. Martin, John P. Sheldon and George W. Jones following after. Mr. Kilbourn was nominated on the first formal ballot. As some of the active delegates in attendance claimed to be members of the Whig party, the question arose as to the orthodoxy and legitimacy of the convention, and its political complexion was finally settled by a resolution as follows:

"Resolved, That this be considered a Democratic convention, and that we are in favor of drawing the party lines!"

This was done in order to head off the Doty convention, and not allow it to be said that Kilbourn had been nominated by a mongrel convention, and that their candidate for delegate had been sent out without the proper party trade-mark upon him. The fight between the two candidates, Doty and Kilbourn, now began in earnest, and was kept up with great vigor until the polls were closed. The contest was carried on chiefly upon local issues, Mr. Doty being handicapped by having to excuse himself from attacks relating to some of his official acts. While Judge Doty was defending himself from "the fire in the rear," Mr. Kilbourn issued a very elaborate address in which he pledged himself to do what he could, if elected, to get congressional aid for a system of internal improvements that would be of incalculable benefit to the people of the new territory. The harbors on Lake Michigan were to be improved, and the Fox, Wisconsin and Rock rivers—

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even the little Peckatonica was to be made navigable—and there was to be a union of the great lakes and the Father of Waters. The address continues: "Suitable aid for this and the Peckatonica improvement—either in land or money, ought to be sedulously sought for by our representative; and I would not seek the support nor ask the confidence of my fellow citizens, if I could not freely and frankly pledge myself to the active support of these essential measures." If the distinguished advocate of this grand system of internal improvements were alive to-day, and should take notice of what has been done for these "essential measures," he would probably be amused at his own speculations of fifty years ago. Notwithstanding all these fair promises on the part of Mr. Kilbourn, his more skillful and wily opponent won the election by nearly 1,000 majority, and the virgin waters of the picturesque Peckatonica and the majestic Rock are still unvexed by the burden of internal commerce. A catfish drawing three inches of water would have found it difficult to ascend, in a dry time, some of the rivers which our territorial statesman petitioned Congress to have improved at Uncle Sam's expense.

The spasmodic efforts of the Democrats in 1839 and in 1840, to draw the party lines and perfect a thorough organization of the Democracy, met with only partial success, as an organized opposition was lacking to make such a movement interesting, and there must be two parties to every contest. The Whigs of the territory, having been excluded from all the federal and local offices up to that date, did not organize until January 1, 1841, after the election of William Henry Harrison and John Tyler as President and Vice-President of the United States. Every one expected that, according to the usual custom, a change in the administration at Washington meant a change in the federal and territorial officers. There were plenty of men in the Whig party, in those days, who believed in the orthodoxy of the Jacksonian shibboleth that "to the victors belong the spoils," and they were early in the field as candidates. Accordingly, on the first day of January, 1841, in pursuance of a notice previously published, a large and enthusiastic meeting was held in Milwaukee to celebrate the "brilliant victory achieved by the hardy yeomanry of our country in the late presidential contest."

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This meeting was described by one of the Whig organs as "large, jubilant, and enthusiastic," and many representative men from all parts of the territory participated in it. It was addressed in an able and eloquent manner by J. E. Arnold, John H. Tweedy, John F. Potter and others, and the festivities wound up with a splendid banquet at the Milwaukee House, Harrison Reed acting as toastmaster. It was at this meeting that the thorough organization of the Whig party was resolved upon, and in a few days the Central Committee, then and there appointed, issued the following call for the first territorial Whig convention:

"The undersigned, members of the Whig Central Committee in this territory, in pursuance of a resolution passed at a meeting of the Whigs, in attendance at the celebration held in Milwaukee on the first day of January, 1841, hereby give notice that a convention of the Whigs of the territory will be held at Madison, in the county of Dane, on the 4th day of February next, to take into consideration the expediency of an efficient organization of the Whig party throughout the territory, and to transact such other business as may be thought proper. The Whigs in the several counties are requested to send delegates equal to the number of representatives to which they are entitled in both branches of the Legislature. (Signed) A. BRUNSON,
WILLIAM A. PRENTISS,
E. CHILDS,
JOHN H. ROUNTREE,
EDWARD V. WHITON,
GILBERT KNAPP."

This first convention of Whig delegates met in Madison February 4, 1841, pursuant to the call of the Central Committee, and the Committee on Credentials found sixty-one persons entitled to seats, representing eleven counties. As there were a large number of prominent Whigs in attendance as outsiders who had gathered at the capitol to witness the formal launching of the new party, about twenty of them were invited to take seats in the convention and participate in its deliberations. A thorough organization was then perfected by the appointment of local committees in the several counties, and thus the Whig party of Wisconsin

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was put on a war footing for the first time for any future campaigns against the common enemy. The Whigs expected that President Harrison would make a clean sweep and put his friends in office, and the Democrats, having been feeding at the public crib ever since the territory had been formed in 1836, cheerfully accepted the inevitable, and made preparations to vacate the places that they had so long occupied and enjoyed. But the sudden death of President Harrison in one short month after his inauguration, and the recreancy of John Tyler, the Vice-President, who succeeded to the executive chair, frustrated all plans, and although many changes were made, the Whigs were not recognzed in the new deal. As Tom Corwin expressed it, "they were not permitted to feed upon the fly-blown remnants that fell from the table of executive favor." Tyler used all the official patronage at his command, as his illustrious predecessor had done, and appointed men to office whom he supposed to be favorable to his administration, which was not then in harmony with the principles and policy of the Whig party.

On the first day of July, 1841, a Whig convention was held in Madison and Jonathan E. Arnold of Milwaukee was nominated as a delegate to Congress. On the 19th of July a Democratic convention assembled at the capitol and ex-Governor Henry Dodge was named as the Democratic candidate. General Dodge was elected by 507 majority.

Speaking of Jonathan E. Arnold, the Hon. Joshua Stark, who practiced at the bar with him, says: "His intellectual gifts were of a high order, and by study and discipline he had acquired the ability to use them with great power. He was a master of logic, was graceful and polished in diction—able, however, with consummate art, to suit expression to the mental capacity and culture of his hearers, and was grave, earnest and often impassioned as an orator." Mr. Arnold was a Whig until the final collapse of that party in 1852. Then his conservatism led him into the Democratic party, where he remained until the breaking out of the slaveholders' rebellion, when he joined the Republican party.

No sooner had the Whigs of the territory perfected a thorough organization of their party, as the result of their enthusiastic

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meeting held in Milwaukee on the first of January, 1841, than the Democrats were incited to take action also along the same line, for although some initial steps had been taken looking to a more compact organization and the drawing of party lines, there were some counties that stood aloof whose people regarded local issues as of more importance to them than party divisions upon national politics. A meeting of leading Democrats was held in Madison on the 14th of January and resolved to call a territorial convention of delegates on the 11th of February. Accordingly, in pursuance of the call of the Central Committee, a committee consisting of 134 delegates assembled at the capitol at the time designated, with Morgan L. Martin as the president. The Committee on Resolutions reported a lengthy platform, and the Democrats in the different counties were urged to perfect their local party machinery as speedily as possible and to be prepared to act in unison with the territorial Central Committee.

Note—Charles Dickens, the celebrated novelist, was traveling in this country at the time of this sad tragedy, and as society in America in 1836 was not as refined as it is in 1898, Mr. Dickens saw much to impress him unfavorably with our manners and customs, and summoned all his literary skill to turn it to the disadvantage of the new world.

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CHAPTER III.

POLITICS IN THE TERRITORY.

The dispute over the boundaries of Wisconsin was earnest, sometimes bitter, and continued from the organization of the territory until the question was finally settled by the admission of the State into the Union, and the lines were definitely fixed by the Congress. The Ordinance of 1787 (Article 5) provided that "there shall be formed in said territory not less than three nor more than five States"; and it then went on to define the boundaries of each State, but not very clearly, and then it added this proviso, which opened the door for much controversy: "Provided, * * * that the boundaries of these three States shall be subject so far to be altered, that, if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan." If it had been determined to carve only three States out of this Northwest territory, instead of five, there would have been no controversy, and had this been done, probably the State of Wisconsin would never have been heard of; but there were five States, and ours was the last one to be constructed; hence the angry and fruitless controversy. When Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Michigan were admitted into the Union, each one was allowed a large slice of territory which did not properly belong to it by any fair construction of the Ordinance of 1787, and the result was that Governors Dodge and Doty contended that Wisconsin, as the fifth State, had been despoiled of a rich portion of her birthright, and all the Territorial Legislatures, and both conventions which met to frame a constitution, took the same view of it. The object of this alleged robbery on the part of our neighbors was to gain harbors on the great lakes, and no man

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can say now that the Federal Union is not stronger for it. Ohio began the trespass, and the others followed suit. If the deal had been a square one, as the territorial statesmen viewed it, Wisconsin would have had the Upper Peninsula part of Michigan, a strip sixty miles wide along the north end of Illinois, including the ground now occupied by the city of Chicago, and on the north the land upon which the cities of St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth now stand! A magnificent territory truly, and it is no wonder that the first settlers in Wisconsin made earnest objection to the injustice of what they considered a shameful transaction. They did protest vigorously, but as all the other States had been admitted, and their boundaries fixed by the act of Congress, they had to submit, and take what was left or continue under territorial vassalage. As Ohio and Michigan nearly came to blows over their boundary line, so the Governors and the Territorial Legislatures of Wisconsin made it unpleasant for the people of Northern Illinois and the Congress of the United States. Governor Dodge issued proclamations and warned intruders off the disputed territory. He had local elections held in fourteen of the northern counties of Illinois, and, strange as it may now seem, the vote showed that the inhabitants preferred to be attached to Wisconsin. But under Doty's lead the Territorial Legislature of 1843-1844 took up the subject of the "ancient" boundaries, meaning thereby the lines supposed to have been fixed by the Ordinance of 1787, and addressed Congress in very plain and threatening language. The resolutions adopted by the Legislature informed Congress that if Wisconsin could not come into the Union with her boundaries fixed about as she wanted them, she "would be a State out of the Union," and carry on business on her own account. The resolutions were undoubtedly written by Doty himself, as the style is precisely the same as that employed by him in 1840 in his celebrated manifesto published while he was a delegate in Congress, and intended to aid in the defeat of Martin Van Buren for the presidency. The humorous part of the whole proceeding was the attempt to bully Congress into an agreement to carry out a system of internal improvements as a compensation for the damage that had been done to Wisconsin's

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boundaries. These improvements contemplated a railroad across the State, making navigable the Fox, Wisconsin and Rock rivers, and the improvement of all the principal harbors on Lake Michigan. It is needless to say that Congress paid no attention whatever to these imperious demands, nor to the belligerent attitude assumed by the Territorial Legislature, whose language was more defiant and less respectful towards the federal authorities than the decision of our Supreme Court ten years later. When Wisconsin adopted a constitution, after two trials, "republican in form"—having purged herself of contempt—she was admitted into the Union "on an equality with the other States," and she has since proved her loyalty to the old flag and to constitutional liberty by sending 90,000 of her sons to fight in defense of the integrity of the nation!

A few important points should not have been overlooked by our territorial fathers in this boundary discussion. (1) The Ordinance of 1787 is practically in its essential features the same as the Ordinance of 1784, which was presented to Congress by Mr. Jefferson on the same day that Virginia relinquished her claim to her portion of the Northwest territory, for the government of the same. (2) The proposed Ordinance of 1784 contemplated the making of ten States, instead of five, and herein Nathan Dane, Richard Henry Lee and Manasseh Cutler improved upon the draft of Jefferson three years before. Had there been ten States, Wisconsin would not have been as well off as she is now. (3) Congress had complete and absolute control over the whole matter in dispute from the start. (4) Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Michigan, being admitted into the Union, and their boundaries defined by act of Congress, it would have been difficult and unprecedented for the Congress to have made any alterations afterwards. (5) Wisconsin has a magnificent area as the lines are now fixed, quite expansive enough for all practical purposes, considerably larger than either Indiana or Ohio. She possesses now more than one fifth of all the territory which was covered by the Ordinance of 1787.

A bitter and long protracted quarrel in the Democratic party during the years of 1843 and 1844—if Doty could be called a

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Democrat—enlivened the life of the local Democracy, and furnished amusement for the Whigs and anti-slavery men. Judge James Duane Doty, who had been appointed Governor by President John Tyler as a reward for his work in helping to defeat Van Buren, got into a long controversy with the Legislative Assembly, and the Governor got the worst of it. When the Legislature assembled Doty refused to recognize it, for the reason, as the Governor alleged, that there was no money to pay its expenses, though the real reason undoubtedly was that Doty feared an official investigation into his conduct as treasurer of the funds appropriated by Congress to build public buildings at Madison. After several vain attempts on the part of the Legislature to obtain recognition from the Governor and proceed with the business of the session, the Legislature addressed a memorial "To John Tyler, President of the United States," setting forth all their grievances at great length, and ended by saying: "For the reasons above set forth we respectfully, yet earnestly, request your Excellency to remove James D. Doty from the office of Governor of the Territory of Wisconsin." This memorial passed the Council unanimously, and in the House there were only two votes against it. Henry Dodge, who had been removed from the office of Governor to make way for Doty, was then the territorial delegate in Congress, and he owed Doty no good will. As soon as Dodge had received this memorial from the Legislature, he addressed an official communication to the President, praying for Doty's removal and assigning many weighty reasons therefor, none of which had any effect upon Tyler. The Legislature adjourned from the tenth day of December to the last Monday in January, 1843, when they found Governor Doty was still incorrigible and would hold no communication with them. The Legislature then adjourned until the 6th of March, when it was convoked by Doty's proclamation, but before it dissolved it fired the following parting shot at Governor Doty:

"Resolved, That the conduct of Governor Doty, in again refusing to meet the Legislature, after he has been officially informed that an appropriation has been made by Congress to defray its expenses, is another evidence of his violation of law, and utter

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disregard of the duties of his station, and of the wishes and interests of the people."

The case against Doty was carried into court, but owing to the law's delay, no judgment was ever obtained against him. Doty was openly and repeatedly charged by the Legislature and by Governor Dodge with conniving with others to defraud the territory, and it cannot be said that he ever cleared himself of those serious allegations.

In 1844 the vote against statehood was more decided than ever before, being "yes," 1,503 and "no," 5,343.

In 1844 President Tyler finally removed Doty and appointed Nathaniel P. Tallmadge in his place. Tallmadge was an old New York politician of variable politics, beginning life as a Whig, and ending his political career as a Tyler man. He was graduated at Union College and trained as a lawyer. He was conspicuous in the New York Legislature and finally got elected to the United States Senate from that State. He was a man of high character and fine ability. He held the office of Governor of the territory less than one year, giving way to Henry Dodge, who was appointed again by President Polk, so that Dodge enjoyed the distinction of being the first and the last territorial Governor of Wisconsin. Governor Tallmadge resided at Fond du Lac, after he retired from the gubernatorial chair, where he practiced his profession. He died at Battle Creek, Mich., in 1864. Not being a resident of the State when he was appointed Governor, his appointment was not well received by many of the Democrats in the territory, who were of the opinion that Wisconsin could furnish men who were perfectly competent and willing to fill all the offices from the highest to the lowest.

There was not much anti-slavery agitation in Wisconsin during the territorial epoch until 1843. Not having the privilege of voting for President in the exciting "Hard Cider" campaign of 1840 when William Henry Harrison (Whig) defeated Martin Van Buren (Democrat), there was no show of hands by the Liberty party in Wisconsin, and it is only guesswork how many votes James G. Birney would have polled in the territory if an electoral ticket had been in the field. When it is remembered that the

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Whig and the Democratic parties did not draw the party lines very strictly in the territory until 1841, it is not strange that the little handful of Abolitionists in the territory should be slow in organizing. But the leaven was at work leavening the whole lump. If they were debarred from active participation in national politics, they were still American citizens, and intensely interested in public affairs. Many of the pioneers had been active in the ranks of the Liberty party in the States from which they came, and were quietly doing missionary work in Wisconsin among their neighbors. In the lead mines the sentiment was decidedly for slavery, that section of the territory having been mostly settled by emigrants from the slave-holding States, and a few slaves had been imported to work in the lead mines. The Milwaukee Courier of May 24th, 1843, then in editorial charge of J. A. Noonan, gives an account of a debate on the Abolition question at Potosi lasting two evenings, the anti-slavery side being maintained by Rev. Mr. Mathews and Joseph Mills, and the pro-slavery side being argued by C. K. Lord and Rev. Mr. Mitchell of the Methodist church. At the close, the meeting, which was very large, decided in favor of the pro-slavery side, the defenders of Abolition getting only 4 votes. The Courier adds that "the people out there are making poor use of their time in attending Abolition meetings," and it advised them to keep away.

In the eastern and southern portion of the territory which had been preëmpted by men from the older Northern States, the feeling against slavery was strong, even among the old line Whigs and "Hunker" Democrats, as they were called, but they voted the regular party ticket because slavery was intrenched in the Constitution, and they believed in obeying the laws. In 1844, when it was proposed to annex Texas, which was capable of making five States as large as Ohio, and in which slavery had already secured a permanent foothold, the free North began to enter indignant protests against the admission of any more slave States. That presidential campaign was a very exciting one, almost as much so as the one that had preceded it in which the Whigs had been successful for the first time since they elected John Quincy Adams by such a close shave in the House of Repre-

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sentatives in 1824. James K. Polk of Tennessee, a slaveholder, was the nominee for the presidency on the Democratic ticket, and he and his party were both unqualifiedly committed to the scheme of annexation. The slaveholders were almost solid for Polk because they believed that Texas would eventually be carved into five separate States, and that would enable them to keep control of the United States Senate, and counterbalance the new free States that were likely soon to be admitted from the Northwest. Henry Clay was the nominee of the Whig party, and while he and the Whig party were as pro-slavery as the Democrats, it was known that in the North many Whigs were to be found who were against the admission of any more slave States, and as the annexation of Texas, if it should be consummated, was sure to involve us in a war with Mexico, as it did, they were violently opposed to it, and their defection threatened Mr. Clay's candidacy. To appease this feeling of opposition in the North in the States that Mr. Clay hoped to carry, he was induced to write a public letter concerning the annexation of Texas, and that letter destroyed his chances of an election. Horace Greeley, of The New York Tribune, then the most widely circulated and influential Whig newspaper in the country, was of the opinion that the chances were all in favor of Mr. Clay's election up to that time, but that epistle turned the tide against him and Greeley threw up the sponge. The result was that Polk was elected, Texas was annexed, we had war with Mexico, which ended by Mexico ceding New Mexico and California to Uncle Sam, and inaugurating a controversy that was the cause of the repeal of the Missouri compromise, the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, the Civil War of 1861-5, and the emancipation of 4,000,000 of slaves. All this was not done in a day. The people of Wisconsin entered heartily into the discussion of national affairs during the Polk-Clay presidential election, and parties became more compact and coherent. The anti-slavery sentiment began to manifest itself where it had before been without form and void. An Abolition Society was formed in Racine county in 1840 and a Territorial Anti-slavery Society in 1842, but it attracted little notice at the time. In 1843 E. D. Holton

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was elected sheriff of Milwaukee county before its separation from what is now Waukesha county, over William A. Barstow, afterward Governor of the State, and the alert Democratic Milwaukee Courier of that date declared that its candidate for sheriff had been beaten by Abolition votes. The admission of The Courier encouraged the Liberty men, and they held a territorial convention at Madison in the fall and nominated Jonathan Spooner as their candidate for delegate to Congress. Spooner thought more of the Whig party at that time than he did of the Liberty party, and he took the stump against his own candidacy and succeeded in keeping his vote down to 153, against 4,685 for the Democratic, and 3,184 for the Whig candidate. Then there was a lull until after the election of Polk in 1844. In 1845 E. D. Holton was nominated as the Liberty party candidate for delegate to Congress, but he only received 790 votes. In 1847 Charles Durkee was nominated for Congress, but only got a few more votes than Holton did two years before. The Liberty men were without the aid of an organ and the Whig and Democratic papers continued to pour hot shot into "the friends of liberty." The Milwaukee Sentinel of February 26, 1845, in a labored editorial, tried to show that the Liberty men who had voted for their own candidate for President in 1844 really threw away their votes and might have elected Clay and thus prevented the annexation of Texas, and averted war with Mexico. The Abolition vote would have carried New York for Clay, and that would have insured his election. "The guilt of annexation," said The Sentinel, "if it is accomplished, must rest upon this self-styled Liberty party. They could have cast their votes so as to prevent annexation. * * * In the future let it be known by its true name, the Pro-slavery party. * * * It uttered long and bitter denunciations against the Whigs, and lent its aid to the locofocos, the open and unblushing advocates of annexation." This admission that the anti-slavery element, by whatever name, already held the balance of power in some of the Eastern States, greatly encouraged the Abolitionists to persevere in Wisconsin, and they worked on with renewed zeal and energy. They soon established The American Freeman at Waukesha as their organ, and in 1846 the vote for equal suffrage

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was nearly 8,000, which was regarded as a semi-abolition vote. In 1848, the State having been admitted into the Union, they placed a full State ticket in the field, with Charles Durkee as their candidate for Governor. He polled but 1,134 votes. But there was a portentous cloud in the political sky no bigger than a man's hand that was soon to develop into a cyclone. John Quincy Adams had been censured for presenting a petition to the House of Representatives from some Massachusetts Quakers, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, but he stood up manfully for the inalienable right of petition, although he stood almost alone. The French ship Creole, laden with slaves for the island of Cuba, was obliged to seek shelter from a violent storm in one of our seaports, and Congressman Joshua Giddings, of Ohio, introduced resolutions in the House declaring that as the slave trade had been forbidden by our laws, and was therefore illegal, consequently the slaves on board the Creole were free and entitled to their liberty. This incident so outraged the slaveholders in Congress that they refused to pass the resolution, but censured Giddings for his temerity instead. The attack upon free speech caught the attention of two Wisconsin newspapers at least, The Milwaukee Sentinel, then a stalwart Whig organ, under the editorial management of the late Judge Jason Downer, which ventured to say that the Giddings censure was an attempt to abridge the liberty of speech, but the Democratic Milwaukee Courier denounced Giddings as "a groveling-minded man, intent on infamous notoriety." It heartily approved of the rough treatment which Giddings had received. Other papers in the territory took the same view of it. Mr. Giddings immediately resigned his seat, went home to his constituents (the grand old Nineteenth Ohio Congressional district, that afterwards gave the country James A Garfield), and he was reëlected by an overwhelming majority.

The anti-slavery party still lacked the stimulus that was soon to be given it by the arrogance and indiscretion of the slave power. The infamous Kansas-Nebraska act had not been passed; Senator Sumner had not been beaten almost to death with a club in the hands of "bully Brooks," of South Carolina, for having spoken,

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in the Senate, of slavery as a "barbarous" institution; the Fugitive Slave act had not been passed; the Dred Scott decision had not been written; the doctrine of squatter sovereignty had not been adopted as a Democratic tenet; the great debate on the extension of slavery between Lincoln and Douglas had not aroused the people of the North like a fire-bell ringing at midnight; Uncle Tom's Cabin had not been published and the Republican party had not been organized.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE TERRITORIAL DELEGATES AND THE DEFEATED CANDIDATES.

The delegates in Congress from Wisconsin during the territorial epoch were a group of men who were noted for their natural ability, practical acquaintance with the West and its needs, and they were all men who had received a good education. George W. Jones had been a delegate in the Twenty-fourth Congress (1835-6) from a portion of Michigan, and after the admission of that State he had been recommended to represent Wisconsin as a person "possessed of integrity and weight of character," and he was elected with little opposition. But before his term expired he acted as the second for Jonathan Cilley, a member of Congress from Maine, in a duel with William J. Graves, of Kentucky, in which the former was instantly killed. They fought with rifles at eighty yards' distance, and three shots were exchanged, the third proving fatal. The duel was one of the most senseless and atrocious ever recorded in this country, and shocked the moral sense of the whole country most profoundly, the people of Wisconsin being especially scandalized by the fact that their delegate in Congress was a party to the "honorable" murder. A committee of the House of Representatives appointed to enquire into the cause of Mr. Cilley's death, reported in favor of expelling Mr. Graves, the murderer, and censuring Messrs. Jones and Wise, the seconds. The subject was finally laid on the table, after much contention, but the incident gave rise to the passage of an act against dueling which remains on the statute book to the present time. This disgraceful affair had the effect to defeat Mr. Jones at the next election, and James Duane Doty was elected in his place. "The odium of the Graves-Cilley duel," says one historian, "was a great embarrassment to Mr. Jones, and cost him many votes." Mr. Jones was subsequently United States Senator from Iowa.

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His successor as a delegate in Congress, James Duane Doty, was one of the most interesting and picturesque characters that appeared in the early history of Wisconsin, and his name is more closely identified with territorial times, incidents and developments than that of any other man. A correct and truthful biography of Judge Doty would comprise a complete account of the prominent public events that have made Wisconsin's history from 1824, when he first came upon our soil as a federal judge, appointed by President Monroe, twelve years before Wisconsin was organized as a territory, until his last active service as a representative in Congress from the Third district, from 1848 to 1852. He was a member of the first constitutional convention, but he was not active in its proceedings. "Probably no public man ever experienced greater vicissitudes in the ebb and flow of popular feeling," said H. A. Tenney, "or occupied conspicuous and leading positions for so long a period. * * * He was a man possessing extraordinary genius and abilities, far beyond the common lot. He was versatile, polished, and of marvelously winning address." He was a federal judge, an Indian commissioner, a territorial delegate in Congress, Governor of the territory, a land speculator and located the present site of the city of Madison, a member of the first constitutional convention, a Representative in Congress for two terms after the admission of the State into the Union, and died in Utah on June 13, 1865, while acting as Governor of that territory, to which position he had been appointed by President Lincoln.

Judge Doty has left behind him two estimates of his character, one description drawn by his admirers, of which he had many, and the other painted by his opponents, of whom he had not a few. He was not always the affable, mild-mannered, non-combative gentleman that some contend, but an aggressive, self-willed, opinionated person, full of intrigue, dishonesty and corruption, who was once described by one of his pioneer contemporaries as "a man who had a winning way to make people hate him." Certain it is that he was most of the time in hot water. When he was Governor of the territory, he had a long and angry disagreement with the Legislature, refusing to recognize it, the conten-

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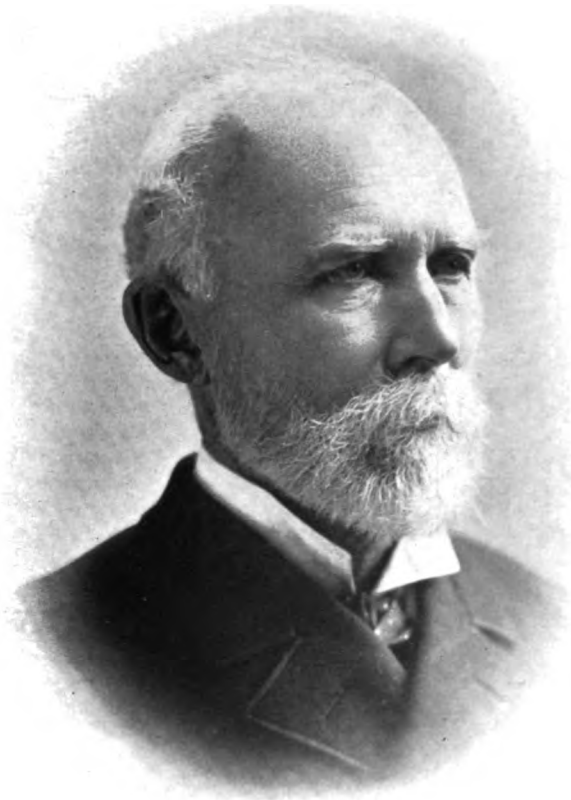

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tion being whether it had assembled in regular, or special session. A committee of the Legislature scored him unmercifully for what it considered his unwarrantable conduct. He was in partnership at one time with Gov. Mason, of Michigan, in some land speculations, and secured the location of the present seat of government upon his land in Madison, where it is recorded that deeds of city lots in the capital city were as plenty among members of the Legislature as were the bonds of the old La Crosse & Milwaukee Railroad Company in 1855, when a land grant was disposed of by the Legislature through the potent influence of "pecuniary compliments." An exchange of rather striking personal compliments between Doty and Mason, after they had quarreled over the division of the land, helped to enliven official life at Madison during the winter of 1839-40. Doty's estimate of his partner was not flattering to the Michigan executive, and the latter promised to "lay before the people of Wisconsin a reply that they may see reflected in the person of their delegate in Congress, the features of a liar, a calumniator and a swindler." Judge Doty was treasurer of the commissioners who had taken the contract to erect public buildings for the territory, and had received the $40,000 appropriated by Congress for that purpose; but he refused to give any account of his stewardship when called upon so to do. An investigating committee made a long report to the Legislature upon the subject, in which it says: "Their (the commissioners) whole proceedings from the time they first entered upon the discharge of their duties seems to support the conclusion * * * and cannot fail to convince the unbiased that there has been for a long time past a secret co-partnership existing between James D. Doty, J. F. O'Niel and A. A. Bird, the commissioners, and James Morrison, the contractor, by which they were to share in the profits or loss resulting from Morrison's contract." But probably the greatest literary effort of Judge Doty's life was the publication of a paper entitled "The Voice of an Injured Territory," and intended to aid in defeating Martin Van Buren for the presidency in the famous campaign of 1840. It was written in the style of the Declaration of Independence, and it showed up Van Buren's treatment of "Wiskonsan," as Doty persisted in spelling it, to be

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quite as bad as that meted out to the thirteen colonies by George III. The imitation of the Jeffersonian style is amusing.

But whatever may be said of Judge Doty's faults the fact remains that the people were always willing to condone them, and he never was a candidate for any elective office when he was not successful by a large majority, no matter who was running against him.

General Dodge, who was the third delegate in Congress from the territory of Wisconsin, has been spoken of in connection with his appointment as the first Governor in 1836, in the first chapter. He was a typical Western man and possessed superior qualifications to represent the territory in the National Legislature, when a change in the administration at Washington displaced him as the chief magistrate of the inchoate State. To what was then said of his public career it may have to be added that he had served as Colonel of a Missouri regiment during the War of 1812, and had become a permanent settler in Michigan Territory, near Dodgeville, prior to the Indian uprisings in 1832. He was made Colonel of a Michigan regiment, was in command of the territorial forces, and was largely instrumental in promptly and finally ending Indian hostilities upon Wisconsin soil. For his services in that connection he was commissioned Major in the regular army and sent to the frontier, where he was soon promoted to the Colonelcy of his regiment. For distinguished services as a soldier, Congress, in 1836, voted him the thanks of the nation and a sword. He was then upwards of sixty years old and resigned his commission in the army to accept the appointment of Territorial Governor of Wisconsin. In 1845, to the great delight of a large majority of the people of Wisconsin, President James K. Polk again appointed Dodge to the gubernatorial office, from which he had been removed by John Tyler. General Dodge was the only territorial delegate who ever reached the Senate of the United States, and Governor Doty was the only one who was afterwards elected to the popular branch of Congress.

Gen. Harrison C. Hobart, who knew both Dodge and Doty intimately for many years, spoke of them in an interview as follows:

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"Generals Dodge and Doty were always opponents. Dodge was a man who belonged to what is called the old Democracy, and he really represented the commonality. He was a man of great personal dignity, and was noted for this throughout the State. Doty was a Doty man, and when asked what his politics were, was accustomed to say that his politics were territorial, for the reason that he desired to be one of the first Senators elected by the State. He was a man of easy manners, genial and pleasant to every one. He was the friend of any party. He took an active part in getting the State capital placed at Madison, and he owned the town site and other lands in the vicinity. During the great battle between Van Buren and Harrison, he went for Harrison, and consequently during the Tyler administration he was appointed Governor to pay him for his work against Van Buren. Doty never was defeated when he ran for an elective office. He ran twice for Congress and was elected. I ran against him once in the year 1849. I was nominated by the Democrats and Doty ran independent. The abolition movement was at that time with Doty. Anti-slavery men always voted for Doty. I was young at that time, and Doty had the advantage of years, he being a much older man than myself, and very well known. One issue that did me a great deal of harm was the Fox river improvement. Doty was on that side. There was a strong rivalry and jealousy between the Lake Shore and Fox River Improvement. They were anxious to build up Green Bay. They wanted to improve the river as far up as Portage. Every man had to pledge himself in favor of this in order to get any votes in that territory. Doty was for this improvement to the fullest extent. I was for the Lake Shore, for if I favored the Fox River improvement I would lose my support at home.

"As soon as Democracy had hardened in the State, Doty lost position and was never in good standing with the Democrats. Personally Doty was a tall, fine looking gentleman, resembling Solomon Juneau, and was about his size. He always wore a smile for everybody and was very friendly; he also squeezed everybody's hand when he took it.

"Dodge was just the opposite to Doty. He was one of those

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determined men and was always a man of very few words, but great decision of character. Dodge took better with the common people than Doty, because they believed in him, while Doty's polished manners didn't take so well. Dodge did not drink at all. Doty only socially. Dodge was a strong man with his friends and always stood by them. He always stood for the old settler; he thought the younger men could wait, and told them so. Doty was free and easy in his manners and with his money. He should have been rich, as he had properties in most places where cities were apt to grow up. His heart was set on Menasha, and he believed that would be the largest city in Wisconsin."

Morgan L. Martin, the fourth delegate in Congress, was another man of affairs who bore a conspicuous and important part in the early period of our history, and whose name is interwoven with many incidents in the development and progress of the State. He was associated with Solomon Juneau in the purchase of the ground upon which a portion of the city of Milwaukee now stands, and is therefore entitled to share with Juneau the honor of bounding the metropolis of Wisconsin. He was graduated at Union College, and afterwards thoroughly trained in the profession of the law. He lived in Wisconsin ten years before she was admitted into the Union, and served continuously for six years in the Territorial Council. He was president of the second convention that met to frame a State Constitution, and in the capacity of presiding officer he not only appointed all the committees, but he took an active part in the debates on the floor, and has left the imprint of his wisdom and statesmanship upon the organic act of the State.

But by far the ablest and best equipped man sent to Washington to represent Wisconsin as a delegate in Congress, was John H. Tweedy, of Milwaukee, the first and only Whig who was ever chosen for that position. Born in Connecticut in 1814, he was graduated at Yale College in 1834, and immediately upon his admission to the bar, he came to Milwaukee and engaged in the active practice of his profession. His fine natural abilities, sterling integrity, thorough legal training, his courtly manners and eloquent speech made him at once a leading

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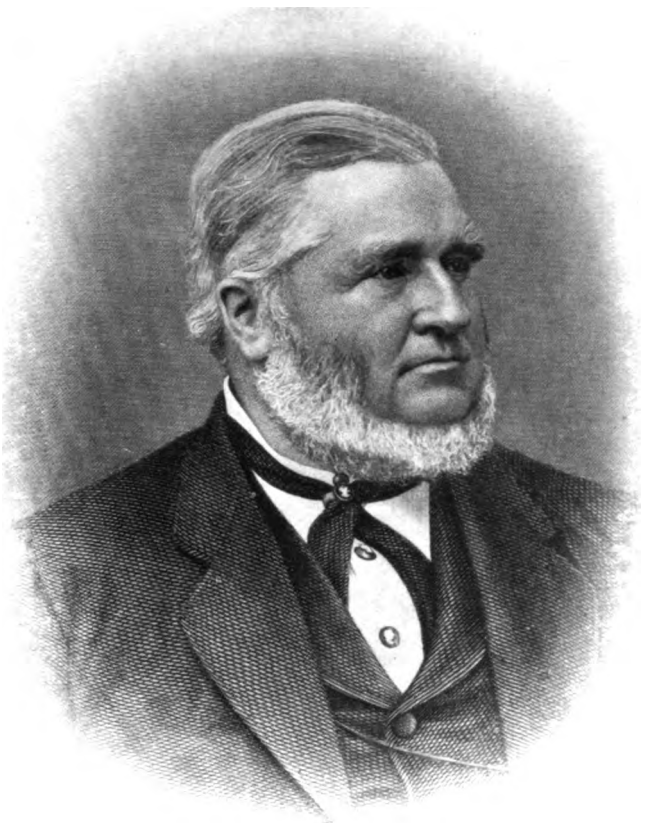

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man among the leading men of his day and generation. His election as a delegate to Congress over an able and popular Democratic opponent, at a time when the Whig party was heavily in the minority in the territory, was a high compliment to his personal worth and scholarly attainments, a compliment which any man might justly feel to be an honor. Mr. Tweedy was seldom out of office, although his political party was in the minority. He was a man of mark in any public assembly, and his business capacity made him useful in many ways to his fellow men. His most important work in Congress was to draft and procure the passage of the enactment admitting Wisconsin into the Union as a State. He was a member of the first convention which met to frame a State Constitution. He was a candidate for Mayor at the first election in the city of Milwaukee, and was the first candidate of the Whig party for Governor in 1848 against Nelson Dewey. In 1850 he was the nominee of the Whigs as a candidate for Congress in the First Congressional district, but declined the honors. In 1852 he represented the First ward of Milwaukee in the Legislature. He was one of the directors and prime movers in the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad Company, and also in the Milwaukee & Watertown Railroad. All through his active career he was warmly enlisted in every measure that was intended to aid in the development of the State and to increase the happiness and prosperity of the people.

Such was the character of the men selected to stand for the honor and dignity of Wisconsin at the capital of the nation from the time when her territorial pupilage began until she took her place in the Federal Union on an equality with her sister States.

The brief biographical sketch of the territorial delegates in Congress for Wisconsin would be incomplete if some mention was not made of the distinguished gentlemen who were defeated in the several contests for that office. The defeated candidate is often the best man of the two. It was generally a battle between members of the Democratic party at first, but later on the Whigs usually had a candidate in the field, sometimes the Free Soilers, and at last the Whigs and anti-slavery men succeeded in electing John H. Tweedy to that office, who was the last one to occupy

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the place, when the State was admitted into the Union. The first contest was between George W. Jones, who claimed the place as a sort of residuary legatee, he having held the office when Wisconsin was attached to Michigan, and his opponent was Moses Meeker, who came to the territory from Ohio in 1822, and settled in the lead mines. Both belonged to the Democratic party. Jones was elected by a large majority. Mr. Meeker was never prominent in politics. At the next election Jones was defeated by James Duane Doty. Two years later Doty's canvass was hotly contested by Byron Kilbourn. As the Whigs were an important minority, the Doty party called a "territorial convention" which was packed with Doty's supporters, and at which he was duly nominated. A later "territorial Democratic convention" nominated Byron Kilbourn for delegate with almost as much unanimity as the former meeting had nominated Doty. Each convention took occasion to say in unmistakable terms what its delegates thought of the other fellows. The Doty men expressed the belief that all opposed to their candidate were a "ridiculous assemblage of Whigs and administration men," who were "moved by feelings of prejudice and a greedy desire to obtain the crumbs of office"; to all of which the Kilbourn convention retorted that they "were assailed with a wantonness and illiberality as unexampled as it was unexpected," and declared all charges to be "false and groundless." The Whigs made no nomination, having no chance to elect their candidate, and let the Democrats fight it out among themselves. Both of the candidates made electioneering visits to different parts of the territory to fix their fences and to solicit support. Both Doty and Kilbourn issued long and elaborate addresses to the people, Doty defending himself from charges mainly relating to having bought up the Legislature with deeds of village lots to secure the location of the capitol at Madison, and Kilbourn promising to do certain great things for the new territory, if he was elected. It was said that the feud between Dodge and Doty originated during the first session of the Territorial Legislature in Madison, when that place was fixed upon as the permanent seat of government. Doty owned the townsite, and was chiefly instrumental in getting it designated as the capital.

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It was charged that Dodge was offered deeds of some very fine lots by Doty for his influence, which offer was indignantly rejected by Dodge, and the fight was kept up as long as they continued in public life.

Probably no candidate for Congress ever made fairer promises than Byron Kilbourn, and few men ever went to Washington from the West who were better qualified to accomplish great results for their constituents, than himself. He was a man of excellent executive ability, of immense physical and mental power, of wide experience in public affairs, dogmatic and stubborn, intelligent and farseeing, and he possessed that tenacity of purpose which controls circumstances and accomplishes important undertakings. His name is indissolubly and honorably connected with the growth and prosperity of the city of Milwaukee, and he did more to encourage the building of railroads in Wisconsin than any other man in the State. If it is said that a shadow rests upon his name by reason of his action in securing the vote of the Legislature in favor of his road in disposing of a Congressional grant of land given in aid of railroads, it can only be said that his "pecuniary compliments" were placed where they did the most good to his corporation. The report of an investigating committee, appointed by the Legislature, has made that whole transaction a matter of State history.

At the next election for delegate (1841) the Whig party had perfected a thorough organization, although the Central Committee persisted in calling their convention a "Democratic Whig" convention, which nominated Jonathan E. Arnold as their candidate. The word "Democracy" seemed to have an agreeable flavor in most mouths in territorial times, like the word Jerusalem in the minds of the Jewish people. The Whigs called themselves "Democratic Whigs," not thinking that a rose by any other name would smell as sweet. Mr. Arnold's Democratic opponent was ex-Governor Henry Dodge, who defeated the former by 507 majority. The contrast between these two gentlemen was very striking. Mr. Arnold was one of the most famous lawyers and brilliant orators ever heard in the West, and had he been elected to Congress would have taken rank with the ablest men in it.

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Though he never held an elective office, he acquired a professional fame that will forever remain a part of the glory of the State.

At the next election for delegate to Congress (1843) both Whigs and Democrats had their candidates in the field. The Whigs were represented by George W. Hickcox, and the Democrats by Henry Dodge, the latter being elected by a strict party vote. Two years later (1845) witnessed a very lively campaign, Henry Dodge having been appointed Governor of the territory again, by President Polk, in place of Nathaniel P. Tallmadge, and the contest was between Morgan L. Martin (Democrat), James Collins (Whig), and Edward D. Holton, the anti-slavery candidate. In 1847 the Whigs for the first and only time succeeded in electing their candidate in the person of John H. Tweedy, his Democratic opponent being Moses M. Strong. Mr. Tweedy had no expectation that he would be elected, and let the election go by default. Having business in New York he went there and meeting Horace Greeley on the day of the election, he was invited to call at The Tribune office in the evening and hear of his election, the great editor assuring him that his advices from Wisconsin indicated that result. Mr. Tweedy smiled incredulously, for he thought he knew more about the election in Wisconsin than Greeley did, but he did call on Greeley that night and did learn, to his great astonishment, that he had been elected by over 1,000 majority. Moses M. Strong was at that time, and at all times during his long life, one of the most active, able, and best known Democrats in the State. He occupied many important public stations in the territory and State, being Attorney General and an active and influential member of the first convention which met to frame a State Constitution. The last years of his life were partly devoted to writing and compiling a Territorial history of Wisconsin, which was printed by the authority of the State, and which is a valuable contribution to the early history of the commonwealth. It is to be regretted that he did not incorporate in his book the incidents, reminiscences, anecdotes and personal sketches of his contemporaries, of which he had complete knowledge.

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CHAPTER V.

STEPS TOWARD STATEHOOD.

As James Duane Doty had been one of the first to agitate the expediency of organizing Wisconsin as a territory, so he was early in the field to promote her admission into the Union. The first official move in that direction was made by the Congress when an enabling act was passed August 6, 1846, to authorize the people of the territory to take the necessary steps to attain the desired end. But it took some time to accomplish it. In 1838, ten years before the State Constitution went into effect, Governor Dodge advised the Legislature to make provision for taking a popular vote upon the subject. The next year the Governor renewed his recommendation, and advised that a vote be taken at the next election to be held in August, but little attention was paid to it. In 1840 a vote was taken, and the returns to the Secretary of the territory showed 92 for it, and 499 against it. The next year the second vote showed 619 for it, and 1,821 against it, with eleven counties making no returns. In 1843 the vote stood 541 for and 1,276 against it. The proposition was denounced in some papers as "Doty's hobby," and the people generally, as the vote showed, looked upon it with disfavor, and as a scheme of the politicians to provide for more fat places for themselves at the public crib. While the territorial form of government existed, Uncle Sam defrayed a good share of the expenses; whereas, they argued, in case of statehood, that burden would be wholly transferred to the shoulders of the taxpayers. In 1844 the subject was again brought to the attention of the Territorial Council, but was indefinitely postponed. In 1845 a bill on the subject was killed in the House; but in 1846 a bill was finally passed and the question was again submitted to a vote of the people for the last time, and was carried by a large majority. The law provided for a con-

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vention of 124 delegates to frame a constitution, and for the submission of the instrument to a vote of the people. The delegates were accordingly chosen and the convention met in Madison on the 5th of October, 1846, and adjourned December 16, after being in session 72 days. The convention was composed of some of the brightest and ablest men in the territory, and as the delegates were mostly selected on account of personal fitness and adaptation for the work before them, rather than because of their political opinions, the personnel of the convention was first-class. As a matter of course, the Democrats being in the majority, and having been charged with the management of affairs ever since the territory had been organized, it was natural that the members of that party would organize the convention and take the laboring oar in framing the organic act. No Legislature that has convened since Wisconsin has been a State has contained such an array of familiar names, and, excepting the second convention, no assemblage of men, representing either political party, has ever met for any purpose that could compare in learning, experience in public affairs, usefulness and personal achievement, with the members of the first constitutional convention. They not only framed the constitution which, with a few slight amendments, has stood the test of half a century, but they have helped to pass and execute our laws and make our great success possible.

The first convention contained only 10 foreign-born citizens—7 from Ireland and 3 from Germany, out of 124 members. All the others were native Americans. Nearly one half of the delegates were born in New York and Vermont. New York contributed one third of the entire number. Perhaps that is the reason our laws so closely resemble those of the Empire State. The farmers had the votes in the convention, but the lawyers had the brains, and took the lead. The oldest man was 65, the youngest was 23. The average age was about 37 years. If you would call the roll of the leading men they would line up about as follows: E. G. Ryan, James Duane Doty, Marshall M. Strong, Moses M. Strong, George B. Smith, D. A. J. Upham, William R. Smith, Alexander W. Randall, David Noggle, Frederick S. Lovell, Moses Meeker, Stoddard Judd, George Hyer, Hiram Barber,

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J. Allen Barber, Warren Chase, A. E. Elmore, John H. Tweedy and others. Many of these gentlemen held high official positions after the State was admitted. They were chief justices, governors, State officers, members of Congress, and some of them were the unsuccessful candidates of their party for the highest offices in the gift of the people. That the work of these able and conscientious men should have been rejected by the people by the decisive vote of 20,232 nays to 14,119 ayes, will astonish the reader more and more as he investigates the subject. Many things conspired to defeat the constitution. Although party lines were not drawn in the selection of delegates, nevertheless, as all the territorial offices had been filled by Democrats, and they were very much in evidence everywhere, the new constitution was generally looked upon by the Whigs as a Democratic affair, for which that party was responsible. The Whigs contended that the doctrines of the National Democracy had been incorporated in the new constitution to some extent, especially in regard to banks and banking, and they did not like it. Many of the leading Democrats opposed the adoption of the constitution because they disliked some of its provisions. Marshall M. Strong, one of the leading men in the convention, resigned his seat and went home with the obvious intent of opposing it. It has been charged that D. A. J. Upham, the president of the convention, looked upon its rejection with Christian resignation. Some thought it was too radical; others thought it was not liberal enough.

There is no doubt that it was defeated at the polls because it had not the cordial support of all those who had helped to make it. In the newspapers and on the stump the points raised against it were generally stated to be: (1) The clause in relation to the rights of married women; (2) the article on exemption of property from forced sale for debt; (3) the articles on banks and banking; (4) as to the number of senators and members of the Assembly; (5) the elective judiciary; and (6) the omission of an article on corporations. These were considered its obvious defects, and against these articles the guns of the opposition were leveled. The result was fatal; the instrument was rejected by a decided majority and another convention was called to try again.

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The citizens of Milwaukee took an active part in deciding the fate of the first constitution. Such men as Byron Kilbourn, H. N. Wells, James Holliday, Moses Kneeland, Rufus King, Solomon Juneau, John H. Tweedy and Jonathan E. Arnold opposed its adoption, while Isaac P. Walker, George H. Walker, W. K. Wilson and E. G. Ryan worked industriously for it. The vote of the city stood 1,148 for the constitution and 1,437 against it.

The next convention was composed of new men almost entirely, many of the members of the first refusing to go back to the second. Only six of the old delegates were reëlected to the second. These were Messrs. Beal, Chase, Fitzgerald, Judd, Lovell and Prentiss. Again the Democrats took the lead. Morgan L. Martin, ex-delegate to Congress, was elected president of the convention. Many new faces appeared. If the absence of many well-known citizens was noted, so was the presence of other delegates, eminent as lawyers, judges and professional men, made welcome. Among them were to be found such distinguished persons as Edward V. Whiton, Orsamus Cole and Charles Dunn, all of them afterward chief justices of the Supreme Court; James T. Lewis and L. P. Harvey, afterward governors of the State; Harrison Reed, afterward governor of Florida; Morgan L. Martin and Charles H. Larrabee, members of Congress; Byron Kilbourn, John H. Rountree, S. W. Beal, Horace T. Saunders and Rufus King, capable citizens and men of affairs. Comparing the two conventions in point of ability, and considering what each of the members of both afterward achieved for himself and for the State, there is little to choose between them. The work of the last convention met the approval of the people by a vote of 16,799 for, to 6,384 against it. The present constitution received only 2,680 more votes than the first one. While 34,351 electors went to the polls to vote for or against the first constitution, only 23,183 went to the polls to vote the second time. The credit of framing the present constitution is given to the second convention, but the fact remains that it availed itself of the work done by its predecessor, as any one can plainly see who will compare the two instruments. Not only that, but the wisdom of the

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first convention has been justified by the action of the State Legislatures since; for most of the things in the first constitution that were obnoxious, and led to its rejection by the voters, have been incorporated into our statutes, and made part and parcel of our laws. For example, the rights of married women are much better protected now in Wisconsin than the first constitution proposed to do it; and as for exemption from debt, the first constitution proposed to fix it at $1,000 as the value of the homestead, while under the present constitution a city house and lot may be held under the law that is worth $50,000. And as for an elective judiciary system, which was voted down so decidedly in 1846, it has been proved to be eminently wise, conservative and satisfactory after fifty years of trial. Even the late Chief Justice Ryan, who, as a member of the first convention, could see nothing but disaster to the ends of justice in an elective judiciary and whose angry voice was often heard in bitter denunciation of the proposed scheme, lived long enough to be pleased with the custom, and to enjoy its benefits in his own person to the extent of being elected to the highest judicial office in the State, for a full term of ten years, by the free suffrages of a people, a large majority of whom held opposite political views from himself. So times change and men change with them. So in the onward march of progressive peoples, the conservatives of to-day are found to be camping on the same ground which the radicals occupied only yesterday!

Congress, by an act approved May 29, 1848, enacted as follows: "That the State of Wisconsin be, and is hereby, admitted to be one of the United States of America, and is hereby admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever, with the boundaries prescribed by the act of Congress, approved August 6, 1846, entitled, 'An act to enable the people of Wisconsin territory to form a constitution and State government, and for the admission of such State into the Union.'"

The anti-slavery men of Wisconsin kept up a sort of guerrilla warfare without any efficient leaders until the State was admitted into the Union, when Sherman M. Booth made his appearance here just ten days before Wisconsin had achieved the dignity of statehood, so he made no disturbance in territorial times! He

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arrived in Milwaukee May 19, 1848. He was in some respects a remarkable man and has left the imprint of his genius upon the laws and history of the State. He was graduated from Yale College, and for seven years before he came West he was engaged by the Liberty party of Connecticut to lecture in every town in that State on slavery, and he spoke from one to six times in every village and city. He was a platform orator of no mean attainments and he was an able, forcible and eloquent writer. He was also a reformer, an iconoclast, and an agitator, who lacked the patience, tact, discretion, and judgment essential to the successful political leader. He had no faculty for organization, and depended too much upon his ability to speak and write. He was a poor judge of human nature. He thought men could be chased into the kingdom of Heaven with a whip of scorpions, and when he took editorial charge of The American Freeman, then the only distinctive out-and-out Abolition organ in the State, he soon had as many controversies on his hands with the Whig and Democratic papers as he could attend to. He was a fanatic on the temperance question, and in a State like Wisconsin that increased his unpopularity, especially with the German element, which was otherwise inclined to sympathize with his anti-slavery teachings.

In an address delivered before the Wisconsin Editorial Association March 11, 1897, Mr. Booth tells of his advent into Wisconsin in the following truthful paragraph: "At first mine was the only distinctive anti-slavery paper in the State devoted to building up the Liberty party. I stood alone; and like the architects in rebuilding Jerusalem, I had to build with the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other. I was not a perfect master-builder, and doubtless sometimes used pretty hard, rough brick, or made a misfit in placing them. But I was hopeful, earnest, industrious, aggressive and fearless, believed in the Divine command to Israel at the Red sea—'Go forward'—and did the best I could with the tools at hand. I was bound to see the walls of Freedom's temple go up!"

Mr. Booth might have added, without a serious departure from the truth, that he used the sword much more frequently than he did the trowel, and that it was much more congenial to his

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feelings to do so. He was a natural born fighter, and it is only just to say that he always preferred to fight on the right side. As Macaulay said of the elder Pitt, "he chose his side like a fanatic and defended it like a philosopher." His mental outfit included a conscience, and his enemies gave him the credit of intending to do right.

Of course it was a war to the knife and the knife to the hilt as soon as he took charge of The Freeman. He drew the fire of all the Whig and Democratic papers, and paid back their assaults with compound interest. He soon became sole owner of The Freeman, removed it to Milwaukee, changed its name to The Free Democrat upon the breaking out of the Free Soil party, and in due time he issued a daily edition of his paper. Political parties had already begun to disintegrate, the anti-slavery sentiment was increasing, the seed sown by the Liberty men began to grow, the annexation of Texas began to bear fruit and the end of the war with Mexico had given us some new territory that was to be quarreled over on the subject of slavery. When we acquired Florida from Spain and Louisiana from France, and had "gobbled" Texas and whipped Mexico, and made her pay for it, slavery already existed in all those provinces; but Mexico had abolished slavery in all her dominions twenty years before, and all we got of her was free territory! Was this free territory now to be converted into slave States? or was it to remain free? The dispute commenced in earnest as soon as peace was declared between the United States and Mexico, and our title to California and New Mexico was made good. When the bill appropriating $2,000,000 to be used by President Polk in settling with Mexico, was under consideration in the House of Representatives, David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, offered the following proviso, which has ever since borne his name:

"Provided, That as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty that may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the executive of the moneys herein appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted."

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This proviso was adopted in Committee of the Whole House by 80 ayes to 64 noes, but an angry and protracted debate sprang up and the session came to an end before it could be passed, so that it went over until the next term. This proviso was the inspiration of the Free Soil party in the North and the cause of the defeat of Gen. Lewis Cass, the Democratic candidate for the presidency in 1848. Booth and his followers in the old Liberty party in Wisconsin hesitated some time before joining in the popular cry of "Free Soil, Free Speech and Free Men," but they thought they saw a chance of winning under that shibboleth and so they reluctantly fell in with the procession. They could at least help to defeat Cass, and, as one of Milton's devils said:

> —"Which, if not victory,
> Is yet revenge!"

Cass had not only been warmly in favor of the annexation of Texas, which had been very distasteful to many life-long Democrats in the North like David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, Preston King, George Rathbun and Martin Grover of New York and Salmon P. Chase and Jacob Brinkerhoff of Ohio, but he was opposed to the Wilmot proviso, and inclined to adopt the new theory of John C. Calhoun, namely, that the Federal Constitution was held to carry slavery into every rod of federal territory whence it was not excluded by positive law! Cass was also wedded to the Democratic doctrine of that day that it was unconstitutional for the government to adopt a system of internal improvements, a subject of great interest to a new State like Wisconsin, lying between Lake Michigan, with harbors to improve, and the Mississippi river, and being drained by several supposed navigable rivers. True, the Whig party had nominated Gen. Zachary Taylor against Cass, who was a slaveholder, but as the Whig party had been so overwhelmingly defeated in 1844, it was thought that Taylor had no chance whatever of an election. The Buffalo convention, at which the Liberty party was merged into the Free Soil party, was attended by twenty-five delegates from Wisconsin, and the list included such stalwart Abolitionists as Booth, Codding, Durkee and Gen. James H. Paine, who would be the last men to unite with any party unless it represented their principles. To

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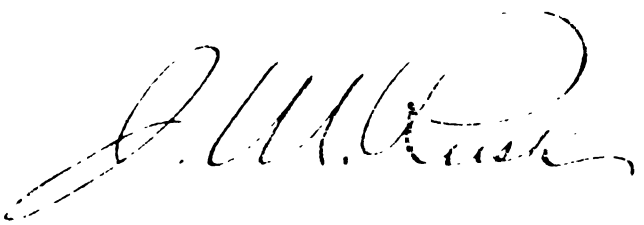

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the idle charge that they sold out the old Liberty party or made unwarrantable concessions to the new party Mr. Booth made reply in the words that follow:

"I pursued a straightforward course in regard to the Free Soil movement from first to last. I was a delegate to the convention—rather to the two conventions, for there was both a mass and a delegate convention, the latter consisting of a number equaling the number of presidential electors from each State. Before the convention met Salmon P. Chase, Ichabod Codding and S. M. Booth had a conference, at which we formulated the basis of the union of the Liberty party with the proposed Free Soil party. It was this: 'No more slave States, no more slave territory and the abolition of slavery in all territory under exclusive federal jurisdiction.' And these three planks were the only live oak timbers in the Buffalo platform. Chase was president and I was chief secretary of the delegate—not the mass—convention that built the platform and named the candidates. The precise anti-slavery creed which Wisconsin and Ohio had demanded, was adopted as the faith of the new party. The old Liberty party men had not abated one jot or tittle of their fealty to freedom. They had taken in a great many new members on probation, some of whom dropped out before six months had expired."

Many of the Democratic papers in Wisconsin refused to place the name of Gen. Cass at the head of their columns, and Democratic meetings were held in many counties at which strong Wilmot Proviso resolutions were passed. Booth started a campaign paper called "The Barnburner," taking the name of a faction in New York headed by the eloquent John Van Buren, which supported his father for the presidency. Accessions to the Free Soilers came in rapidly from all quarters. It was a political Day of Pentecost. The Democrats became alarmed, and The Daily Wisconsin, then an ardent supporter of Gen. Cass and everything that was regularly Democratic, was violent in its denunciations of the "traitor," Van Buren, whom it had formerly supported through evil and good report. It tried hard to convince the voters that the Wisconsin Democracy was more Free Soil than the Free Soilers themselves, while at some of the Democratic meetings "Cass

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and Free Soil" was the motto. W. P. Lynde, then in Congress from the First district, declared at a public meeting held in Milwaukee, that it was incredible of belief that Lewis Cass, a Western man who had explored Wisconsin in early times, was not a Free Soil man. Lynde was a candidate for reëlection, but was beaten by Charles Durkee of Kenosha, who was supported by the Free Soilers. The Whig candidate was Asahel Finch, the law partner of Lynde. The vote was as follows:

	Cass.	Taylor.	Van Buren.
State, President	15,001	13,747	10,418
	W. P. Lynde.	A. Finch.	Charles Durkee.
First District, Congressman	4,436	3,621	5,038
	A. Hyatt Smith.	O. Cole.	Geo. W. Crabbe.
Second District, Congressman	5,690	6,281	1,916
	J. D. Doty.	T.O. Howe.	Stoddard Judd.
Third District, Congressman	5,764	3,338	2,330

Cass carried the State, but was over 9,000 votes short of the combined vote of Taylor and Van Buren. Each of the three parties secured a Congressman. They were all prominent members of their parties. Durkee had always been active in the anti-slavery ranks, and he was a man of good average ability. He afterwards served one term in the United States Senate, being the first man ever elected to that body on a distinctive anti-slavery issue. He was not gifted with ready speech, and seldom asked the attention of the Senate. Orsamus Cole, from the Second district, has been conspicuous as a member of the Supreme Court for thirty-six years. James Duane Doty, from the Third district, formerly delegate in Congress in territorial times and late Governor by appointment of President Tyler, had probably more warm friends and still warmer enemies than any other man who was ever in public life in Wisconsin. Mr. Lynde, who was defeated by Durkee, was again elected to Congress in 1874 and again in 1876, and bore a prominent part in the celebrated Electoral Commission which decided the presidential contest between R. B. Hayes and Samuel J. Tilden.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE FIRST GOVERNOR.

Wisconsin was admitted into the Union on an equality with the other States on the 29th of May, 1848. On the 5th day of June, 1848, the new State government was organized with the installation of the State officers: Governor, Nelson Dewey; Lieutenant Governor, John E. Holmes; Secretary of State, Thomas McHugh; State Treasurer, Jarius C. Fairchild; Attorney General, James S. Brown. On the third day of the session ex-Gov. Henry Dodge and Isaac P. Walker were elected to represent the new State in the United States Senate. Walker drew the short term, and it expired on the 4th of March, 1849, when he was reëlected for a full term of six years. This first election of United States Senators was not brought about without some of the rivalry, jealousy, strife, heart-burning and disappointment that has characterized every similar election that has been held by the Wisconsin Legislature from that day to this. The early political struggles in Wisconsin were largely personal, and many men were seeking political advancement as soon as the State was organized. A portion of the Democrats were in favor of Dodge and Marshall M. Strong for Senators, and another large clique supported Judge Dunn and Isaac P. Walker. Doty, as usual, was a candidate on the Doty ticket. He had but a small following, however, on this occasion. The Dunn and Walker combination divided the vote about evenly, as against Dodge and Strong. An agreement was finally made whereby each of the factions got a candidate, the winning ticket being Dodge from the West, and Walker from the East, the latter receiving the support of the lake shore counties, and being greatly aided by his brother, George H. Walker, who was then a leading citizen and politician in Milwaukee. The anti-slavery sentiment then being much in evidence in the new State, both the Sena-

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tors were pledged beforehand to the freedom of the new territories. Henry Dodge was already one of the best known and most popular citizens of Wisconsin, but Walker did not come to the territory until 1842. Still he was not a total stranger. Walker was not a college graduate, and had no educational equipment except what he obtained in common schools. He was born in Virginia, and studied law in Danville, Ill. He was elected to the Legislature of Illinois before he was 25 years of age, and was one of the presidential electors in that State on the Van Buren ticket in the great defeat of 1840. He opened a law office in Milwaukee in 1842, and soon had a large practice. He served two terms in the Territorial Legislature from 1847, and attracted some public attention while a member of that body. He was Speaker of the House in 1847. The same Legislature that elected Mr. Walker adopted a joint resolution on the 8th day of February, 1849, instructing the Senators in Congress and the members of the House of Representatives to oppose any bills for the organization of New Mexico and California, or any other territory acquired from Mexico, unless they contained a clause forever prohibiting slavery. On the 31st of March the Legislature felt called upon to pass another joint resolution, to the following effect:

"Whereas, Hon. I. P. Walker, one of the Senators from this State in Congress, in presenting and voting for an amendment to the general appropriation bill, providing for a government in California and New Mexico, west of the Rio Grande, which did not contain a provision forever prohibiting the introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude in said territories, has violated his pledges given before his election on that subject, outraged the feelings of the people, misrepresented those who elected him, and has openly violated the instructions contained in the resolutions passed by this body on the subject of slavery at the present session; he is hereby requested to immediately resign his seat."

Senator Dodge's course was commended. It is needless to say that Walker did not resign. Dodge always voted to keep slavery out of the territories, and aimed to keep himself in touch with the people. Walker attended the next Democratic State Convention at Madison and tried to get himself reinstated in the party

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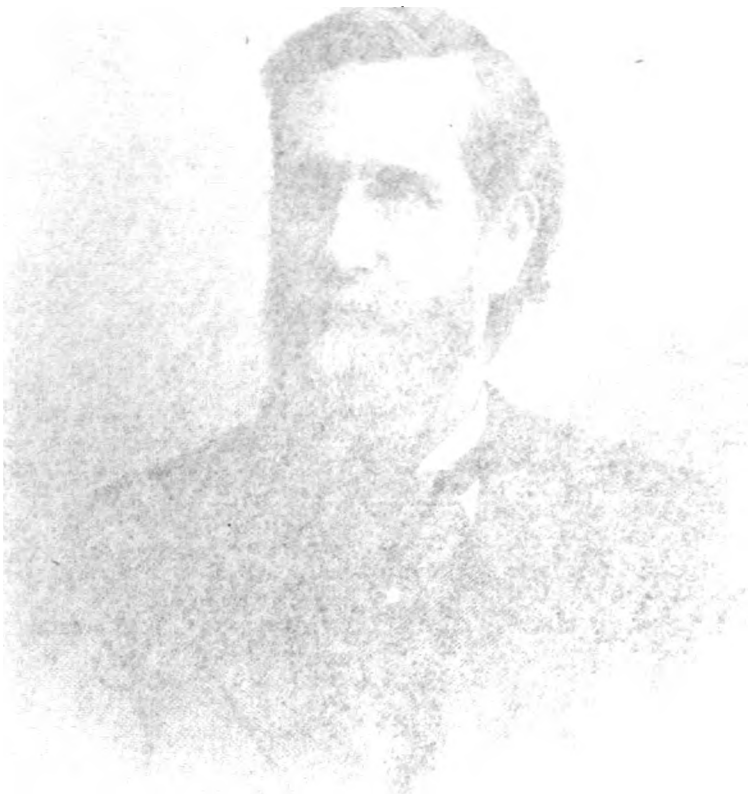

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by making a speech in defense of his action in the Senate, but it only made matters worse and when his term had expired he retired to private life. The resolutions of censure, however, which were adopted March 31, 1849, were rescinded by the Legislature in January, 1851. Mr. Walker died in Milwaukee, March 28, 1872.

The vote for Congressmen in 1850 was as follows:

First District—	
A. E. Elmore (Dem.)	5,574
Charles Durkee (Free Soil)	7,512
Second District—	
B. C. Eastman (Dem.)	7,262
O. Cole (Whig)	5,852
Third District—	
H. C. Hobart (Dem.)	5,371
J. D. Doty (Ind.)	11,159

As to the election of Dodge and Walker to the Senate, the testimony of an eye witness of the contest is of interest. It is given in his own words:

"The early struggles of Wisconsin among the politicians were largely personal. At that time the Whig party didn't have much of a pull in Wisconsin. The school of Doty men were a class of men who were poor politicians. The Dodge men were strongly Democratic. When we came to elect United States Senators, there were many men who would have liked the position, and there was a diversity of opinion among leading Democrats as to the best men. Governor Dodge of course was elected as one of the two Senators by all parties. A portion of the Democrats nominated Dodge and Marshall M. Strong, and another portion were for Dunn and Walker. Doty, as usual, was running as his own candidate. The Noonan side of the question was Dodge and Strong. The Beriah Brown or Madison faction was for Dunn and Walker. It only took one night to make the nomination, but it was a hard fight. Dunn and Walker just about divided the vote with Dodge and Strong, but the Milwaukee influence being for Walker, drew off some of the votes from Strong. Finally there was a compromise made by which both factions got a Senator, Dodge from the western portion of the State and Walker

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from the lake shore. Judge Dunn, had he been chosen, would have made a model Senator. He was always cool, collected and dignified under all circumstances, and at all times. He was eminent as a lawyer and as a legislator. He was a man who was very much admired by all who were well acquainted with him. Dunn's opinions were influential in the constitutional convention, but he made no speeches. He was a man who stepped on no one's toes, and allowed no one to step on his. He was one of the pure, high-minded men of those times."

Like some other public men, Governor Dodge did not always keep faith with those who had supported him when he was running for office, but he found it convenient to kick down the ladder upon which he had climbed to distinction and power. When Dodge was first elected Senator one of his most active and influential supporters was Gen. Harrison C. Hobart, then a young man who was rapidly coming to the front as a leader in the Democratic party, and who has since twice been the nominee of his party for the highest office within the gift of the people of the State. When Dodge was first elected the office of sub-Indian agent was located at Sheboygan, where Gen. Hobart at that time resided. Hobart was a candidate for that office, and went on to Washington, in the interest of his anticipated appointment, with his recommendations from the big men in the Democratic party, and called on Dodge and asked him to support him for the office, which Dodge promised to do. Hobart had previously quarreled with Walker. The difficulty between them grew out of Hobart's opposition to Walker on account of Walker's pro-slavery attitude in the California admission case, and Hobart had openly justified the Legislature in asking Walker to resign his seat and come home. The two met on the street in Milwaukee on one occasion and a fist fight would have been the result if the bystanders had not interfered. Dodge went to Walker, but Walker made it a point with Dodge that he would not join with him in anything if he supported Hobart. A Dodge man informed Hobart that Dodge was not supporting him, and when Hobart heard this he determined to fight the Dodge party at the next State Convention, and Dewey and Hobart got together at Washington and agreed

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to meet at Madison and defeat them. Dewey wanted to be surveyor general. They agreed to take up Barstow, and as he had been Secretary of State, he was very popular with the young men. Dodge and Barstow were not on good terms. Hobart and Dewey went to Madison when the convention met, where the Dodge party had already settled on J. C. Fairchild for Governor. The prospects were not very good at Madison. Someone said to Hobart that Dodge wanted to see him. When he called on Dodge the latter said he was sorry that he could not support him for that office at Sheboygan, and added, "Walker is a very great enemy of yours, sir." Hobart replied: "When a man has no enemies, he has no need of friends." After two days' fight in the State convention, Barstow was nominated. The fight between Barstow and Fairchild ended Dodge's political career. This also weakened the ranks of the old Democracy. While Dodge was in the Senate he usually acted with the Free Soil party. The resolution adopted by the Legislature in 1849, that no new State should be admitted into the Union without the Wilmot proviso, was drawn by Gen. Hobart, but not presented by him.

Some of Dodge's warmest supporters were men of mark in their day and generation. Josiah A. Noonan, of Milwaukee, was one of the most conspicuous. He attended to the details of the Democratic party management at the east end of the State, while Judge Dunn, James H. Earnest, M. M. Cothren, John Y. Smith and Moses M. Strong looked after the fences in the west. Altogether it was a strong combination. It had ability, cunning, influence with the voters, wide personal acquaintance, experience in all sorts of political manipulations, and exercised that eternal vigilance that is said to be the price of liberty. Mr. Noonan had unusual facilities for reaching the public ear. He was in the paper and type foundry business which brought him into direct business relations with the most of the editors in the State of all political parties, and most of them had unsettled accounts with him. He had often shown many of them favors in a business way, and they felt under obligations to him. He had been an editor himself, and was a terse, caustic and forcible writer, combative and aggressive in the extreme, and the Irish blood in his veins

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made him love a fight as an ox loves clover. He had a habit of writing articles of a strongly personal character and sending them to some country newspaper and asking the favor of having them appear as editorials. In this way he could attack his enemies while lying in ambush, and they would feel the smart, without knowing who was really applying the lash. He was not content to confine his labors to his own political party, but often had his say about his political opponents in the same quiet and steady manner. He was a man of heavy frame, red hair, florid complexion, big head, gray eyes, aggressive manners, self-assertive, voluble speech and quick wit, indicative of his Celtic origin. He often secretly attacked those with whom he was personally on good terms just for the fun of it. When Alexander Mitchell was running for Congress in 1870 against Gen. Halbert E. Paine, Noonan wrote a scorching article very derogatory to Mr. Mitchell, and sent it out and had it appear as editorial in one of the country papers in the district. Mr. Mitchell, who had known Noonan for many years and was well acquainted with his methods, at once suspected him of its authorship, and immediately sent a trusted agent out to the newspaper office to ascertain the facts. The poor editor, fearing a libel suit with the great banker, at once produced Mr. Noonan's unmistakable manuscript and turned it over to Mr. Mitchell's friend, who returned with it to Milwaukee. The handwriting was unimpeachable evidence of its authorship. At that time Mr. Noonan kept his account at Mitchell's bank, and he often had the privilege of overdrawing it. Mr. Mitchell now directed that Mr. Noonan's account be closed, and gave orders that he should never be allowed to do any more business at his bank.

It is highly probable that if General Dodge had kept his word with General Hobart in regard to that little office of sub-Indian agent at Sheboygan, Dodge would have been elected to the United States Senate for the third time; the Dodge party would have nominated and elected Jairus C. Fairchild governor, instead of Barstow, and there would have been no Barstow-Bashford incident in our history. Upon such slender threads sometimes hang everlasting things!

General Dodge died in 1867 at the ripe age of 85 years.

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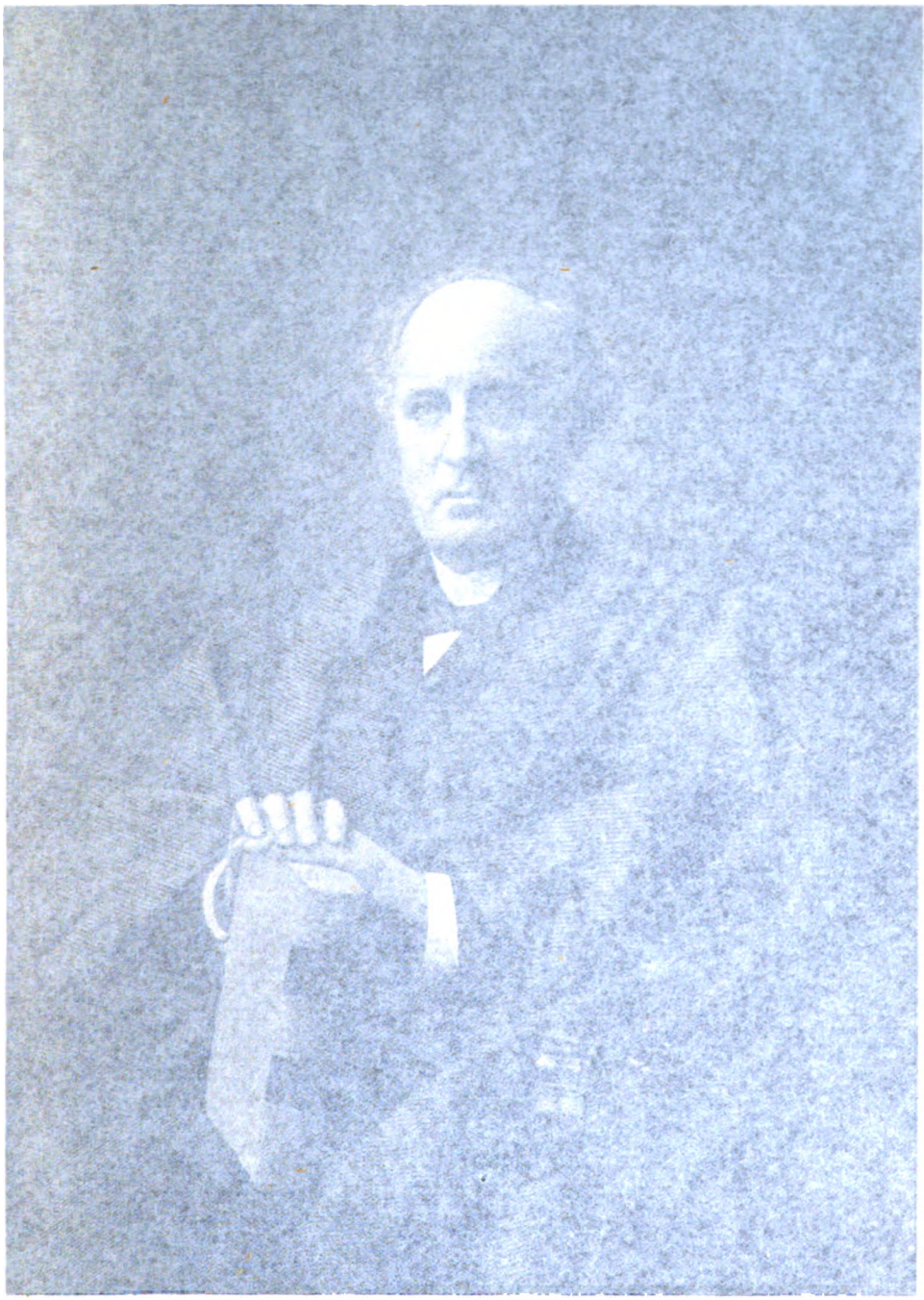

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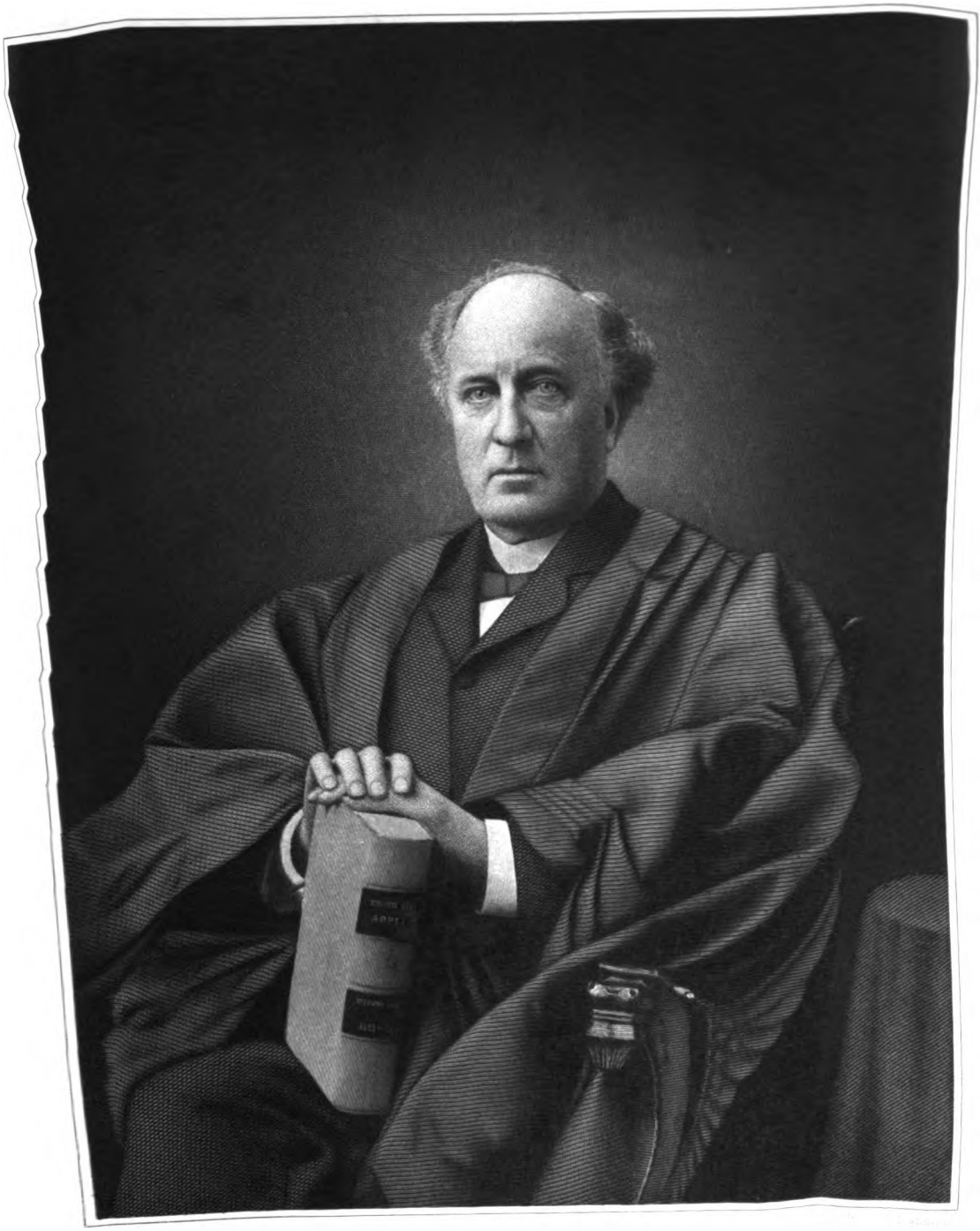

Jno. Jennings

HELKE & CO. LITHO.

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There were a number of disappointed candidates at the close of the first senatorial election, as there have been at every other similar election for the last fifty years, and prominent among them were Judge Doty, Judge Dunn, Marshall M. Strong and Byron Kilbourn. All these except Dunn were pronounced candidates, and of course all of them were straight-out Democrats except Doty, and he was occasionally a Democrat. He was always a candidate for office when there was a good one to be filled, and for the office of Senator he had really a fine equipment. Judge Dunn, who was the superior of all his rivals in point of ability, legal learning and natural gifts, was too modest to press his own claims, and was no doubt made a candidate by his friends against his will. Marshall M. Strong, who was really a first-class man, was handicapped by hailing from the lake shore, like Kilbourn and Walker, and he had incurred the disfavor of some of the leading men of his party, like E. G. Ryan and other supporters of the first constitution, which Strong was credited with being chiefly instrumental in defeating. It was the dream of Byron Kilbourn's life, and nothing but a dream, to sit in the Senate of the United States, and he never learned to fling away that ambition to the day of his death. Intellectually, and as a broad-minded man of practical affairs, possessing executive ability of a commanding kind, he would have made a fit Senator for any State. How the dark horses felt, like A. Hyatt Smith, Moses M. Strong, Mortimer M. Jackson, Morgan L. Martin, George B. Smith and others, never will be known.

As the two administrations of Nelson Dewey were absolutely colorless as far as any political excitement or party rivalry is concerned, all comment on the public career of that noted gentleman may as well close with this chapter. The following estimate of the ex-Governor's character was the utterance of one of his most intimate and trusted friends and supporters, and is here given in his own words:

"The rise and fall of Nelson Dewey is one of the most interesting chapters and the most pathetic and dismal at the close of any political career of which I have had personal knowledge during my long life. No man ever entered political and official life in

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Wisconsin with a better reputation for honesty and integrity than Nelson Dewey. He was the soul of honor, and his word was as good as his bond. He possessed sufficient moral rectitude, everybody thought, to run a whole political party, and still have something in reserve for home consumption. He was also a man of most excellent judgment, not only of men and business affairs, but of party policy and expediency. All his neighbors valued his advice highly in every-day affairs, and all the prominent politicians of the Democratic party often sought his advice and acted upon it. He was not a public speaker; he was tongue-tied, modest, and of a retiring disposition even in private life. He was little accustomed to the use of the pen, seldom if ever wrote articles for the newspapers discussing public questions, and his messages to the Legislature, while he acted as Governor, displayed none of the rhetorical graces and finish that distinguished the well-read scholar. He was simply plain, honest, straightforward, reliable Nelson Dewey, and his sincerity and sound common-sense won for him a host of friends. So when the dominant Democratic party was looking about for a suitable candidate for Governor of the State, when Wisconsin was admitted into the Union in 1848, the choice easily fell upon Dewey, and he was nominated and elected with little opposition.

"Of his political career I am not now speaking, but of things personal. He was a man small of stature, with a well-knit and compact frame, something of the style of General Grant; brown hair and light blue eyes, and altogether of rather a pleasing, but nowise of a striking personality. He had married the gifted daughter of Judge Dunn, a distinguished jurist and politician in territorial days, who inherited much of her eminent father's intelligence, wit and family pride, and of course when Dewey was elected, Governor of the new State and took up his residence in Madison, the family naturally took its place at the head of society. When his first term was ended he was easily nominated and re-elected and things went well with him. Unlike other Governors, he never made use of the Governor's office as a convenient stepping-stone to the United States Senate, as is the fashion in these

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latter days, but was seemingly content to rest on his laurels that had been already so easily won and modestly worn. Then he retired to private life and disappeared from public view. When a man has been Governor for two terms, even though he has discharged his official duties ably and well and to the satisfaction of his constituents, he seems to be a much smaller man, somehow, than when he was first elected. At the time Dewey went out of office, 1852, Daniel Wells, Jr., of Milwaukee, and George Dousman, of Prairie du Chien, both of them millionaires, owned large quantities of unimproved lands in the western and northern portions of the State, and ex-Governor Dewey was made their agent. For many years he looked after their interests, and such was their abiding faith in his honesty and integrity that no accounting was made with him for years, the proprietors forgetting that good old adage, proved to be true in a thousand instances, that 'short settlements make long friends.' But settlement day came at last. Meanwhile, Dewey had been seemingly prosperous, and had been spreading himself like the proverbial green bay tree. He had sent his wife and daughter to Europe for the purpose of educating the latter, and he commenced the building of a residence that far excelled in elegance and in all its appointments anything of the kind in Western Wisconsin. The day of settlement was the day of judgment. His wife and daughter were recalled from their protracted stay in Europe, and for the first time the wife was made acquainted with the unwelcome and humiliating fact that her expenses in Europe had been paid with money belonging to other people. Then followed those domestic difficulties which financial ruin is always sure to bring in its train, especially among the higher classes, and it all ended in a separation of the father and mother, and the accomplished daughter being thrown upon her own resources for a livelihood. Dejected, humiliated, ashamed, broken in health and spirit, Governor Dewey often sought reconciliation with his wife, but all in vain. That proud woman made one answer to all her friends who pleaded with her to return to her husband, and that was that he had no right to deceive her as to his real financial situation, and that to send his family abroad at the expense of other people was to her mind an unpardonable sin. It

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was one she never condoned. The Governor's last days were spent in darkness and gloom, with the accumulating sorrows and infirmities of old age gathering thick upon him, augmented by a comparison of bankruptcy with the splendor and glamour of official grandeur, when all joined in the one acclaim: 'Long live the king!' He died in poverty and obscurity, July 21, 1889."

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CHAPTER VII.

FARWELL AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

Before taking final leave of the territorial epoch, it may be well to remind the student of our early history that perhaps he may find instruction and enjoyment in comparing the first convention, which met in Madison October 5, 1846, to frame a constitution for the State of Wisconsin, with that other more distinguished and eminent group of men who assembled in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, September, ~~1798~~, to form the organic act of a great nation. Perhaps we are not yet far enough removed from the scene and date of their labors to properly estimate their value, and we are still to some extent deprived of that enchantment which distance lends to the view. But just as the photographer takes a large picture and reduces the size of his copy of it by those delicate processes known only to his cunning art, so the reader must allow his imagination to help him in his comparison of the two bodies, that he may not break the images which we have been worshiping for over one hundred years.

The Philadelphia aggregation consisted of 55 men; the Madison convention numbered 124. In the former, 29 were college-bred men; in the latter a university or liberal education was the exception and not the rule. There were only seventeen college graduates in the first convention. In the Federal Convention Benjamin Franklin was the oldest man, 81; and Jonathan Dayton was the youngest, 26. In the Badger Convention the oldest man was William Berry, 65; and the youngest, George B. Smith, 23. If the Federal Convention had consisted of 124 members instead of 55, it is safe to say that it would never have agreed upon a constitution, and if it had not been for the wisdom and conciliatory spirit of Washington and Franklin, it would have broken up in fruitless disorder, without accomplishing anything, as Washington

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at one time predicted it would. Our first convention was found to be too cumbersome and unwieldy, and so the next one was reduced to only a little more than one-half as large—69 members. Some of the great men of Revolutionary times that one would naturally expect to find in that renowned gathering were not there. Thomas Jefferson, of all others, and his intimate friend and co-worker, John Adams, were absent on a foreign mission; and Samuel Adams, who did more by his fiery eloquence to stir the colonies to revolt than any other one man, was for a long time opposed to the adoption of the constitution. And Patrick Henry, who wanted "liberty or death," in his famous speech, not only opposed the convention from the start, but fought the adoption of the constitution after it was made, by the State of Virginia, to the best of his fine ability. The two ablest men in the convention were unquestionably Madison, 36, and Hamilton, who was only 30. Madison has been called the Father of the Federal Constitution, and the title is well deserved. Hamilton was a brilliant orator and an aristocrat in his tastes, habits, and opinions; Madison, the skillful manager, the adroit politician, the suave peacemaker, who brought about compromises, allayed irritations, and reconciled differences of opinion. Our convention consisted of a different class of men. Some of them had never seen the inside of a college, and most of them could have carried their private libraries on their backs. But they were broad-gauged men of affairs, intensely practical and hard-headed, and had studied human nature instead of books. The men in the Federal Convention afterwards held high positions in the nation; Washington and Madison becoming Presidents, Hamilton the greatest financier the country has ever known, and others rising to be cabinet officers, foreign ministers and members of the Congress. So some of the Wisconsin delegates got to be Governors, Chief Justices, Congressmen and State officers. The Federal Constitution was debated for weeks by the State Legislatures before it was finally ratified—Massachusetts and New York being the storm centers of the controversy, where the opposition to it was most violent and long continued, while the work of the Wisconsin convention was doomed to ignominious defeat. And when Marshall M. Strong

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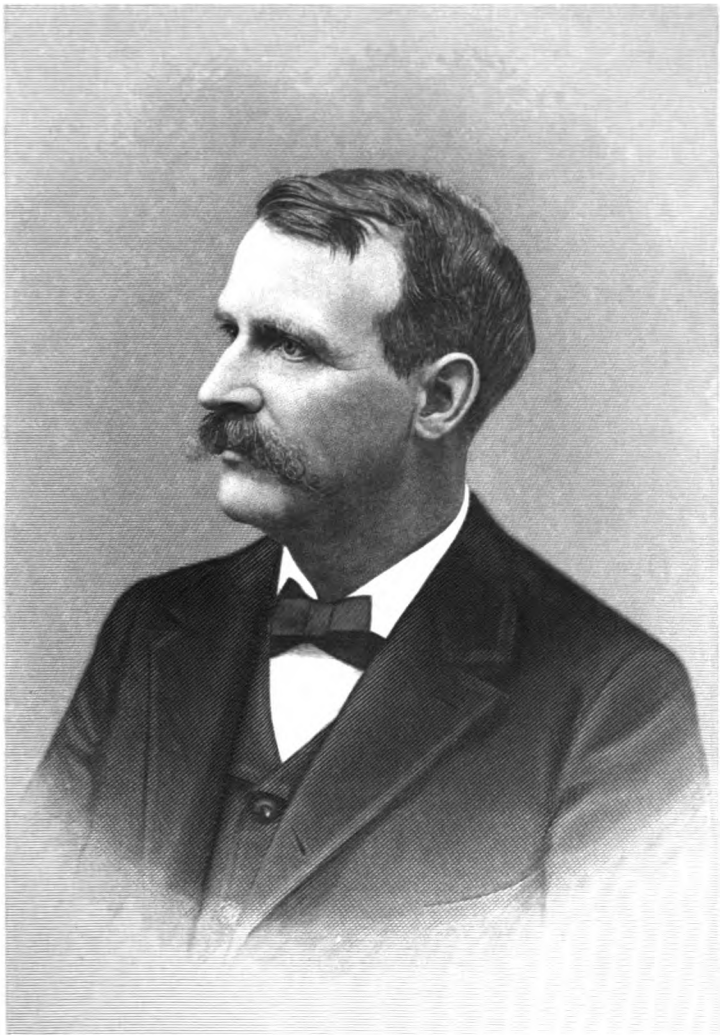

N. C. Payne

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resigned his seat in disgust and went away to oppose the adoption of the Wisconsin Constitution, he was only following the bad example of Yates and Lansing of New York, Luther Martin of Maryland, and Mason and Edmund Randolph of Virginia, who went home to fight against the ratification by their State of the instrument which Gladstone has said "is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man!" Nowhere was the opposition to the Federal Constitution more pronounced than in Massachusetts, notwithstanding Lexington and Bunker Hill; nowhere was its every provision more severely criticised, and no other State Legislature suggested so many amendments to the original draft.

In our convention Edward G. Ryan occupied the same place, in the estimation of his associates, as an orator and lawyer, that Alexander Hamilton did in the convention of Philadelphia. Hamilton was famous at 30, and was well known to the country before he became a member of that historic convention; Ryan did not achieve distinction, for lack of opportunity, until he was over 40 years of age. Both were foreign born; Ryan was born and educated in Ireland, and inherited all the ready wit, volubility, versatility, hot temper, impatience, eloquence, sarcasm, vehemence, impracticability and other distinctive peculiarities of his race. He was a better lawyer than Hamilton, as his decisions while Chief Justice amply demonstrate, but in statesmanship he lacked the training, the breadth of view and comprehensive insight which characterized the brilliant New Yorker. Hamilton has left us no address upon any subject that will compare, in all essential qualities which make such an effort as enduring as the language in which it is uttered, with Judge Ryan's wonderful appeal at the impeachment trial of Judge Hubbell. There was no speech at the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson on either side—although the forensic opportunities were infinitely greater—that can be likened to it, and some of the best lawyers the nation could boast were engaged in the case. It was like Cicero's philippic against the conspirator Cataline. In some respects Judge Ryan was undoubtedly the greatest genius that has yet appeared in the history of Wisconsin.

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The people of Wisconsin had a comparative release from political excitement during Governor Farwell's administration. He was counted in on a very narrow margin over D. A. J. Upham, the Democratic candidate, but all the other State offices were filled by Democrats, which gave color to the suspicion of foul play. Farwell was a Madison man, largely interested in the improvement of the city, owning nearly one half of the town site, a progressive and public spirited citizen of Whig antecedents and anti-slavery proclivities, whose election was considered of great benefit to the town, whereas Upham was a Milwaukee man, whose pecuniary interests, present and prospective, were all in the metropolis. At that time, also, there was a very strong feeling of jealousy towards Milwaukee in Janesville and Madison; the former being ambitious to become a large manufacturing and railroad center, and Madison having the capitol, State University and other public institutions, did not propose to take a back seat for anybody. It was at a time, too, when Chicago business men, aided by the Northwestern Railroad projectors, were trying hard to divert business from Milwaukee to Chicago, and when the Milwaukee business men seemed to be indifferent to all such rivalry.

If there was a miscount by the State canvassers—and many people of that date believe to this day that there was—whereby Farwell was counted in and Upham counted out, either by mistake or intentionally, the motive is to be found in the supposed interest which the city of Madison had in the deal. The effort to count William A. Barstow in four years later upon fraudulent returns has given some faint color to this suspicion. That Upham was beaten by the treachery of some of the active politicians in his own party is undoubtedly true. That he was purposely counted out when his own party had possession of all the election machinery, is almost incredible, for it was a time when the lust for political power was rampant. Farwell was himself an honest, upright man, whose dislike for politics was as great as the hankering after that sort of life which was felt by Doty, Dodge and Barstow. He was a man of negative character, and his picture as a politician must always be painted in neutral tints. He accepted the nomination of the Whigs, Abolitionists, Free Soilers and sore-headed Democrats

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with great reluctance, and probably with the hope and expectation that he would be defeated at the polls, as was the fate of all his colleagues on the ticket. When he saw that he was likely to be nominated, he fled the city. Of his reluctance to take the nomination, Sherman M. Booth says:

"Leonard J. Farwell, a non-partisan anti-slavery Whig, seemed to me to be the only man who could combine a majority vote against Upham. I spent two or three days with Farwell at his bachelor home at Madison, and rode half a day with him on the ice over the lake, trying to convince him that he had a call to be Governor of Wisconsin. With some difficulty I got the Free Soil Convention to nominate him. Gen. Paine and I argued with him two hours to persuade him to agree not to decline the nomination until after the Whig Convention. Soon after the Whig Convention met and nominated A. L. Collins for Governor. Collins declined, and the convention then nominated Farwell and sent a committee to bring him in. Meanwhile Farwell had fled to the next town. The committee followed him to the house, the lady denied his presence, but they found his horses in the barn, called him from his hiding place in the chamber and took him to the convention, where he accepted the nomination. And this is how Farwell became Governor of Wisconsin."

If there was fraud in the hat when Farwell was counted in as Governor over Upham, those who were guilty of the shameful and illegal act took good care not to leave any documentary evidence of their dishonesty behind them. It can safely be said, however, that the story that Upham was cheated out of the office was generally believed by many of the leading Democrats then, and it is the belief of nearly all of them now. General Harrison C. Hobart said: "I have no doubt of it." The Hon. Wilson Graham, a member of the first constitutional convention, has very positive views upon the subject, and a vivid recollection of the Upham-Farwell election. B. K. Miller, then a boy, often heard his father, Judge A. G. Miller, assert his belief that Upham was defrauded out of his election. Another old resident of Wisconsin, who was a member of the first constitutional convention, and repeatedly a member of both the Territorial and State Legislatures, then a

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Democrat himself in good standing, sends the writer a note, in answer to an interrogatory upon the subject, which is here copied: "Barstow once told me that Upham would have been Governor if he (Barstow) had been his friend; and at the time I had no doubt of his being really elected. Barstow said: 'Upham had the votes and I knew where they were, but I was not going to take the trouble to get them and have them counted.' This may have been talk, but I then believed, and do now, that Upham was really elected." On the other hand, Col. E. A. Calkins, who was on the ground at the time and had personal knowledge of what was going on on the inside of the Democratic party, writes as follows:

"Upham was not counted out. The majority for Farwell was honest. The township returns, direct to the Secretary of State, were counted for both candidates. It was largely on the direct township returns that Barstow claimed a majority in 1855. They were allowed for Bashford by the Supreme Court after Barstow's default by withdrawal from the trial. There was a judicial election a few years earlier decided on township returns. It was in a western circuit, Wyman Knowlton being declared elected, and taking the office."

Farwell's candidacy was warmly supported by the Whigs and anti-slavery men of the State, and by many of the business men of Milwaukee without regard to politics. Farwell's Milwaukee supporters issued a labored address to the people of the State, in which they gave their candidate a good send-off, from which is taken the following paragraph:

"Mr. Farwell is a man of high and sterling character, possessed of more than ordinary natural ability; he has improved his talents by study and converse with the world. He has excellent practical sense, is clear-headed and sagacious. All admit that he has great firmness, decision and energy. His generosity and public spirit are proverbial; more than all, he is an honest, high-minded, honorable man. His moral character is without reproach."

Governor Farwell had too many irons of his own in the fire to pay much attention to the business of the State. Realizing this, he made a very judicious selection of his private secretary and procured the services of a gentleman who was familiar with State

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affairs, of unquestioned ability and sagacity, a good lawyer, and one every way more capable of taking the leading part in the gubernatorial drama than Farwell himself. His name was Harlow S. Orton, late Chief Justice of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, and one of the soundest jurists the State has ever known. Orton was an original character, with a mental endowment of the best. His career in Wisconsin was quite as picturesque, interesting and eventful as that of James Duane Doty. He came to Wisconsin from Indiana in 1847, and practiced law in Milwaukee for four years. When he was appointed private secretary by Governor Farwell, he removed to Madison and made that city his home until he died. It is needless to say that Orton was really the Governor during Farwell's term of service, and that he was the power behind the throne greater than the throne itself. No other public man in Wisconsin has ever experienced so many changes in life as Judge Orton. At one time a starving young attorney, without means, friends or clients; sometimes, in fits of despondency, he was on the verge of suicide; at another, he was Judge of the Circuit Court, surrounded by friends, and later, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, having the admiration of the bar and the respect of all who knew him. In politics he had belonged to all the parties that ever were organized, Whig, Democrat, Anti-Slavery and Prohibitionist, his last display in that respect, before his elevation to the Supreme bench, being his advocacy of the greenback issue which swept over the State in 1877. As a public speaker he was incisive, epigrammatic and often gorgeously eloquent, having great influence with juries when a practicing attorney. Some of his Supreme Court decisions have won much praise.

If a message was to be sent to the Legislature, and the Governor had neither time nor inclination to write it, even if he had the ability, Orton was there ready, willing and perfectly competent to do it with neatness and dispatch; if a bill was to be vetoed, Orton could inform the house wherein the act had originated, just where it was faulty and in what respect it contravened the spirit and letter of the constitution. Orton was to Farwell what Edmund Burke was to Rockingham.

Some very important legislation was enacted during Governor

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Farwell's administration, beside the abortive attempt to impeach Levi Hubbell, Judge of the Milwaukee Circuit, the first and only attempt made in Wisconsin to impeach a judicial officer. A measure of incalculable benefit, pleasure, and satisfaction to the people of Wisconsin, was the reorganization and rejuvenation of the State Historical Society, which has already become second to none of its kind in the United States. Its great success is largely due to the unselfish labors of the late Lyman C. Draper, to whose memory it must forever stand as his most appropriate monument. It is but feeble praise to say that no man, living or dead, has ever conferred upon the inhabitants of Wisconsin a service of more enduring benefit than this remarkable devotee to science, art, literature and the historic spirit, has rendered to the present and to all coming generations. "The best work I ever did for Wisconsin," said the late Charles H. Larrabee in a private letter to a friend, "was to induce Lyman C. Draper to remove from Baltimore to Wisconsin. I had my academic education at Granville, O., where Draper was a schoolmate. I procured the first appropriation for a small salary for Draper as secretary of the State Historical Society, and took an active part in its reorganization, with William R. Smith, Moses M. Strong and Edward V. Whiton. Judge Whiton and I were judges of the Supreme Court at that time, before the organization of the separate Supreme Court, and I first brought Mr. Draper to the attention of Governor Farwell, who aided me cordially and substantially." Judge Larrabee himself bore a prominent part in the early judicial and legislative history of the State, but as he admits, his most valuable and enduring service to Wisconsin has been recorded above in his own words. Larrabee was a member of the second Constitutional Convention in 1847; Judge of the Dodge County Circuit Court and a member of the Thirty-sixth Congress from the Third District, in 1859, the successor of Charles Billinghurst. He lost his life in a railroad accident on the Southern Pacific Railroad a few years ago.

The object of the Society, as recited in the incorporating act, was to collect, embody, and preserve in an authentic form, a library of books, pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, paintings, papers, statuary, and other materials illustrative of the history of

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the State; to rescue from oblivion the memory of its early pioneers, and to obtain and preserve narratives of their exploits, perils and adventures; to exhibit faithfully the antiquities and the past and present conditions of the resources of Wisconsin; to promote the study of history by lectures, and to diffuse and publish information relating to the description and history of the State.

It was in 1853, also, that the act was passed abolishing capital punishment for murder and substituting therefor imprisonment for life in the penitentiary at hard labor. This was a startling innovation in the history of jurisprudence, Wisconsin being the first State to abolish the gallows, and the new departure attracted universal attention, not only among members of the bar, but by all classes of reformers interested in the welfare of society. The passage of this extraordinary law was mainly due to the unceasing efforts of Marvin H. Bovee, then a member of the State Senate from Waukesha county, who devoted much of his time in after years in trying to secure the passage of a similar law in other States. The opponents of the law, which were many, predicted at the time of its passage that its effect would be seen immediately in an increase of capital offenses in this State; but such has not been the case, as a long experience has proven. Like the operation of an elective judiciary system, it has proved to be less destructive of good order and sound public policy than most conservative people anticipated. There have been many attempts made, however, to have the law repealed, but they have never been successful, and probably never will be.

Another important act provided for a geological survey of the State, and the appointment of a State Geologist by the Governor, and an appropriation from the State treasury to defray the expenses of the same. Governor Farwell appointed Edward Daniels State Geologist, a gentleman who afterward acquired some distinction and won applause for his courage by helping to overpower the guard who was keeping watch and ward over Sherman M. Booth, when he was imprisoned in the Milwaukee postoffice building, and spiriting him away to a place of safety in the country. When the Rebellion broke out, Prof. Daniels raised a regiment of Wisconsin cavalry and went to the front. After the

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war was over he bought a large tract of worn-out land in Virginia, near Washington, which he proposed to restore to its original fertility by his scientific knowledge of agriculture, on which he now resides.

It was during the last year of Governor Farwell's reign that the question of passing a prohibitory liquor law was submitted to a vote of the people, and passed in the affirmative by a vote of 27,519 to 24,109—a majority of 3,410. Such a law was passed by the Legislature during Governor Barstow's administration, but he vetoed it.

Few Wisconsin men have experienced greater changes in their own lives than L. J. Farwell. Born in New York in 1819, he was apprenticed to a tinsmith at an early age; at 19 he came West, establishing himself first at Lockport, Ill., then locating in Milwaukee in 1840, where he soon had the largest wholesale house in the State. He made money rapidly and in 1847 he made a large purchase of real estate in the city of Madison, where he took up his residence and began improvements on a large scale, which were calculated to benefit the town, as well as himself. The financial revulsion of 1857 proved too much for him and he failed. In 1863, Mr. Lincoln appointed him an assistant examiner in the Patent Office. Three months later he was promoted to the office of principal examiner of inventions, which position he held for seven years. He was present at Ford's theater on that fatal night when President Lincoln was assassinated by J. Wilkes Booth, April 14th, 1865, and has written a graphic account of that horrible tragedy, which has a double interest to Wisconsin people, for the reason that Governor Farwell was probably the only Wisconsin man who witnessed that dreadful crime. That there was a well-laid conspiracy to murder Vice-President Johnson, Secretary Seward and Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, was clearly established on the trial of the conspirators afterwards. That Farwell saved the life of Andrew Johnson there is little room to doubt. Governor Farwell went with a friend to Ford's theater that fatal night on purpose that his friend might see Mr. Lincoln, it having been announced in the newspapers that the President and his family would occupy a box to witness the popular play of "Our American Cousin," in which

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[illegible] Wisconsin he bought a large tract of worn out land in Virginia, [illegible] proposed to restore it to its original [illegible] on which he now [illegible]

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Laura Keene had won much well-merited applause. Mr. Farwell tells the story of the revolting murder as follows:

"We procured seats, having the President's box in full view on our right. When the fatal shot was fired we involuntarily turned our eyes to the box from whence the sound proceeded, and the same instant the horrible vision of J. Wilkes Booth flashed upon my eyes, brandishing a knife and jumping from the President's box, repeating the words, 'Sic Semper Tyrannis!' I had scarcely seen or heard him before he had vanished from the stage. As the President fell and the cry rang through the house that he was assassinated, it flashed across my mind that there was a conspiracy being consummated to take the lives of the leading officers of the government, which would include that of Mr. Johnson. The cause for this suspicion and of my alarm for the safety of Mr. Johnson was probably the fact of my having read in some newspaper the article copied from The Selma (Ala.) Despatch, being an offer by some fiendish rebel to aid in contributing $1,000,000 for procuring the assassination of Lincoln, Johnson and Seward. While some seemed paralyzed by the boldness of the deed and others intent upon knowing how seriously the President was injured, I rushed from the theater and ran with all possible speed to the Kirkwood House to apprise Mr. Johnson of the impending danger, impelled by the fear that it would be even then too late. Passing Mr. Spencer, one of the clerks of the hotel, who was standing just outside the door, I said to him: 'Place a guard at the door; President Lincoln is murdered'; and to Mr. Jones, another clerk, who was at the office desk, as I hurried by, 'Guard the stairway and Governor Johnson's room; Mr. Lincoln is assassinated!' And then darting up to Mr. Johnson's room, No. 68, I knocked, but hearing no movement I knocked again, and called out with the loudest voice that I could command: 'Governor Johnson, if you are in this room I must see you!' In a moment I heard him spring from his bed and exclaim: 'Farwell, is that you?' 'Yes, let me in,' I replied. The door was opened, I passed in, locked it, and told him the terrible news, which for a time overwhelmed us both, and grasping hands, we fell upon each other as if for mutual support. But it was only for a moment."

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In writing on this subject, the late James R. Doolittle said: "It seems that one of the conspirators, George E. Atzerodt, who has since paid the penalty of his crime with his life, had on the morning of the 14th of April taken a room at the Kirkwood House, on the floor above that occupied by Mr. Johnson; that he was in the room during the day and was there visited by Booth; that at the time President Lincoln was shot, his horse was standing saddled and bridled near the hotel."

It is evident that Atzerodt's part in the devilish program was to murder Vice-President Johnson, but was prevented by the timely arrival of Governor Farwell.

Governor Farwell died April 10, 1889.

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE HUBBELL IMPEACHMENT TRIAL.

It was during the last year of Governor Farwell's administration that the impeachment trial of Levi Hubbell, judge of the Circuit Court, took place, his circuit consisting of the counties of Milwaukee, Waukesha, Jefferson and Dane. It was an extraordinary proceeding, the attempt to impeach a judicial officer never having been made before in the history of the State. He was a gentleman of refined and pleasing manners, of a genial and companionable disposition, and he possessed many scholarly attainments. He was graduated from Union College; studied law and settled in Ithaca, and was elected to the Assembly in New York in 1836. He came to Wisconsin in 1844, and soon became prominent at the bar and in the councils of the Democratic party of the State. He was a popular stump orator whose services in city and country during political campaigns were in constant demand. His first term as judge of the Second circuit expired in 1851, at which time he was re-elected for a term of six years. On the 26th of January, 1853, William K. Wilson, of Milwaukee, preferred the charges in the Assembly against Judge Hubbell. Mr. Wilson was not then a member of the Assembly, but he had served in both branches of the Legislature, and was at that time considered one of the leading members of the Democratic party. He had become somewhat conspicuous in an early day as a Free Soiler and an advocate of the public lands being sold only to actual settlers, and of limiting the amount of land which one man might own to 320 acres, which was supposed to be about the amount that one farmer could cultivate to the best advantage. Wilson's free soil theories, however, did not receive their inspiration from the anti-slavery movement, which, later on, culminated in the formation of the Republican party, the

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object of which was to keep slavery out of the free territories, the issue upon which Abraham Lincoln was elected in 1860. Not only were the accuser and the accused bright and shining lights in the dominant party, but the Assembly that must prosecute the case contained a large majority of Democrats. So did the Senate which was to sit as court of impeachment.

It looked very much to outsiders like a family quarrel, which might possibly end in something like an Irish wake.

Mr. Wilson's communication, addressed to the Speaker of the Assembly, was as follows: "The undersigned, a citizen and elector of this State, hereby charges the Hon. Levi Hubbell, judge of the Second Judicial circuit of this State, with having committed and being guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors and malfeasances in office, and has so acted in his official capacity as to require the interposition of the constitutional power of the Assembly. I therefore request you to lay this communication before your honorable body, so that an investigation can be made, to enable the Assembly to determine whether or not the constitutional power ought to be exercised in regard to the Hon. Levi Hubbell."

The presentation of the charges caused intense excitement throughout the State. The Assembly went at the business with great deliberation, and about a month elapsed, after the appointment of the special committee to investigate the case, before the articles of impeachment were presented to the Senate. This was done March 5. The Legislature then concluded the regular business of the session, and took a recess until the 6th of June. Re-assembling on that day, the trial proceeded. The State Senate, which was to sit as the jury in the case, was a body of men that contained some of the best known and most distinguished citizens of the commonwealth. When all present they numbered twenty-five. Lieut.-Gov. Timothy Burns being absent, the president pro tem., Duncan C. Reed, of Milwaukee, presided. The roll call of the Senators showed up well for sagacity, fairness, judicial ability and a general acquaintance with public affairs. The Democrats were largely in the majority. The Republican party was not organized until the next year, so that they were classified

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as Whigs and Democrats. It was not an occasion that called for any display of partisanship, and none was shown. Personal prejudice, hatred, jealousy and rivalry took its place. There were many capable men among them. The best lawyers were Charles Dunn, ex-chief justice of the territory; John W. Cary, who afterwards became famous as the general solicitor of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Company, then a Senator from Racine; John R. Sharpstein, for a long time editor of the old Milwaukee News, and later one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court of California; James T. Lewis, who served as Governor of the State from 1864 to 1866, and A. M. Blair, a prominent lawyer of Fond du Lac. There were others who had made their mark along other lines of activity, and whose names were familiar to the people. Coles Bashford, whose contest with Barstow for the governorship has indelibly impressed his name upon Wisconsin's political history, was a conspicuous figure as one of the Senators. Another was Baruch Schleisinger Weil of Washington county, who came here from France at an early day under the plain name of Baruch Schleisinger, but married a Miss Weil and took her name. Marvin H. Bovee, of Waukesha county, owed his claim to distinction to his efforts in getting a bill passed to abolish hanging in Wisconsin. Then there were such solid men as James S. Albon, Levi Sterling, Eleazer Wakely and Judson Prentice. Altogether they were quite a different class of men from the average run of ignoramuses that usually compose the petit juries in our Circuit Courts. It was evident that Judge Hubbell was to have a fair trial. The case was unique; it was destined to become historic; the charges were very grave, and, if proven, must end the public career of a prominent citizen. Turning from the Senate, the jury in the case, to the Assembly that was made the prosecutor by the constitution, we find there, also, some noted men of that day. The Speaker was Henry L. Palmer, of Milwaukee, already conspicuous at the bar and in political life, who appointed the select committee to frame and present the articles of impeachment. This special committee consisted of Horace T. Saunders, a noted lawyer, politician and Democrat of Racine, chairman; George W. Cate, afterwards a Circuit judge and member of Congress from the

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Eighth district, also a Democrat; J. Allen Barber, a Whig, a man of Puritanic integrity, Speaker of the Assembly in 1863, and a member of Congress from the Third district from 1871 to 1875; the others were P. B. Simpson (Democrat) of Shullsburg, and E. Wheeler (Whig), who represented the Fifth district in Congress from 1863 to 1865.

The other prominent members of the Assembly were John H. Tweedy, a leading Whig and ex-member of Congress in territorial times; William M. Dennis, later elected Bank Comptroller on the Democratic ticket; John E. Holmes, first Lieutenant-Governor of the State; C. Latham Sholes, editor, inventor and legislator; David Taylor, late a member of the Supreme Court, and W. D. Bacon, Whig, and an active citizen of Waukesha, and others of more or less prominence. Of course, there was a diversity of opinion among the Senators and Representatives regarding the guilt of the accused, and it may be said that the confidence of the public in the good sense and impartiality of the select committee which had investigated the case and brought in the articles of impeachment was such that the preconceived opinion of the community was generally adverse to Judge Hubbell. The members of the Assembly had little to do in the case, as their part of the program had been committed to the hands of a special committee, of which Saunders and Barber were the leaders. When all was ready the trial proceeded. It was to be a battle of the giants among the lawyers. Old Thor, the thunder god of the superstitious Norsemen, was there, in all the pride and power of his genius, in the person of E. G. Ryan, whom the prosecution had summoned to their aid, although Saunders, Barber and Cate were recognized as able attorneys and skillful parliamentarians. Ryan cherished a decided dislike of Hubbell, before whom he had practiced, and he entered upon the prosecution with all the spirit, vehemence, energy and zeal that characterized that wonderful advocate. He was then just entering upon a most brilliant professional career, and the case, so unusual in the annals of the new State, offered an opportunity for the display of his extraordinary powers of speech not to be neglected. Ryan was at his best, which means that he was at his worst for the defendant.

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He was about 40 years of age, and had won great distinction in the first constitutional convention as a lawyer and powerful debater, and he was to win more in the present trial, and in the Barstow-Bashford, and in the Booth-Glover rescue cases. His manner was aggressive and overbearing towards his opponents; always respectful and deferential towards the court, and his words eloquent, incisive, sarcastic and sometimes as caustic as red hot potash. He was the best read man of his day in Wisconsin of any profession in all the fields of classical and contemporaneous literature, and so encyclopedical was his knowledge that an observer once declared, after listening to him plead a case in court, that he "knew more law than the judges, more theology than the clergy, and more materia medica than the doctors." In some of his highest flights of oratory he ranged at will through every field of learning and made every art that could arouse a human passion subservient to his use. A gentleman who knew Ryan well and had studied him in all his various moods and tenses, once described him in these words: "A mind comprehensive in its grasp; quick of perception; profound learning in the law; close familiarity with the writers of the past; thorough mastery and precision of language; classical beauty of diction; wonderful power of imagery; great nervous force and energy, were the marked characteristics of him who towered above all others at our bar—the lawyer among lawyers. His arguments were models of their kind—clear in statement, clothed in the classic garments of thought and speech, rich in metaphor, scathing in invective, terrible in denunciation!"

Against this tremendous intellectual gladiator was pitted one of the shrewdest lawyers and most brilliant and accomplished orators that has ever practiced in our courts—Jonathan E. Arnold—as unlike Ryan in all respects as an American Beauty rose is unlike a Canada thistle! His collegiate and legal training had been quite as thorough as Ryan's had been; his reading outside of his profession had been quite as extensive, and his natural mental equipment of temper and temperament was superior to that of the irascible and violent Irishman. They had often met at the bar in important law cases, and it was Greek meeting Greek

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in a masterful intellectual struggle — the victor usually being the lawyer who had the best case, but not always. In the famous Radcliff murder trial, Ryan failed to have the murderer convicted, who was defended by Arnold, although the murderer had confessed his guilt to his attorney. Now they were to try a case new to both, and the like of which had never before occurred in Wisconsin, and only two or three other States ever had had occasion to impeach a judge, since the foundation of the government. Mr. Arnold was ably assisted in defending Hubbell by James H. Knowlton, an able lawyer, while Ryan had the advice and counsel of Horace T. Saunders and J. Allen Barber, of the committee appointed on the part of the Assembly, who were thoroughly convinced of the guilt of the accused. "Some of the notable trials," says the Hon. Joshua Stark, "in which Mr. Arnold was engaged and won surprising triumphs, while in the fullness of his strength as a lawyer, are remembered by those who witnessed them as marvelous exhibitions of legal and forensic genius and power!"

Ex-Governor Salomon said of Arnold: "With the exception of E. G. Ryan, no man ever practiced law in Wisconsin whose breadth of learning relating to matters outside of his profession equaled that of Jonathan E. Arnold. The two were equally matched in legal conflicts, when the marked contrasts in their characters were so sharply brought out. Mr. Ryan petulant, impatient of opposition, rolling his great eyes about in search seemingly of those terrible expressions of sarcasm and bitterness of which he knew himself master. Mr. Arnold stately, courtly, richly humorous or eloquent, never out of temper, pouring out at last such outbursts of rich speech that the jury sat dumb under the spell. In all their encounters, though Judge Ryan may have been deeper in legal acumen, Mr. Arnold had the advantage of being greater than he who taketh a city!"

There were eleven charges with sixty-four specifications. Four of these charges related to bribery, five to partiality, one charged him with embezzlement, and still another with tyrannical usurpation of authority. The sixty-four specifications went into details and gave the day and date of the alleged misdemeanors and malfeasances in office. What grievance induced Wilson to present the

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charge to the Assembly which set the impeachment proceedings in motion, is not known, but in one history of the case which is to be found in Reed's "Bench and Bar of Wisconsin," it is stated that Wilson was foreman of a jury in Hubbell's court in a murder trial, and on bringing in a verdict of not guilty, the judge made the rebuking remark to the jury: "Gentlemen, may the Lord have mercy on your consciences!" This made Wilson very angry. But the opinion was generally entertained at the time that Wilson represented others beside himself. This was broadly stated by Mr. Arnold in his closing speech in defense of Hubbell. He said: "The responsible party * * * was one William K. Wilson, a man who * * * never had a very extensive acquaintance with the respondent, and never had been a suitor in his court. I say he was the responsible prosecutor, but no man thinks that Wilson, the single, almost unknown individual, could have been so inspired in behalf of the cause of public justice that he felt it to be his irresistible duty * * * to attempt the impeachment of a judge! There must have been others who stood behind the curtain!"

Judge Ryan made the most of the charges against Hubbell in his opening address to the Senate, and added many of his own. Here is an extract: "Mr. President, did I say well this morning, when I said that that was a serious array of charges? Did I say well when I said that that body of charges would outweigh any body of charges against any judicial officer in this country of whom you ever read, or of whom any one in this court did ever read or see? What have former impeachments in America been upon? Judge Chase was impeached for the mere arbitrary and oppressive exercise of judicial power; Judge Pickering the same to some extent, together with habitual intoxication and profanity extending to the bench; Judge Addison for refusal to allow a side judge to charge the grand jury; Judge Peck for oppressively exercising power against a person in contempt; and all these things held to be solemn matter of investigation; and in two cases out of four were proven and conviction followed. * * * I say, take Chase, Pickering, Peck, Cooper, Addison, the three judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania—take all the judges who have

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been impeached in this country, put all the charges against them into one scale and put these charges into the other, and these will weigh them down as lead weighs down feathers. What do these charges in the gross amount to? The judicial hands contaminated with a bribe; the judge sitting upon the bench in his own causes; the feed attorney presiding in court, in solemn mockery of justice; the judge's palm itching constantly for the money of suitors in court; the solemn provisions of the criminal law bent and broken to satisfy his personal and arbitrary will; the court a place solicited in favor and not approached for justice; worse than all, the judgments of the law doled out as the price of prostitution."

Similar passages of Ryan's terrible invective are found scattered through his closing argument, of which the following extract may serve as a sample: "A judge of easy virtue; approaching and approached; solicited and soliciting; lending a judicial ear to whispers that tamper with judicial virtue; approaching and retreating by turns, with a rare mockery of judicial virtue on his tongue; promising to set aside verdicts; hinting the vacating of judgments; suggesting settlements for his friends; dissolving injunctions before they are issued; chambering in private with jurors in the jury room; divorcing women and instructing them in the principles of divorcing, in sacred privacy; promising to bring on causes for trial, when the paper evidences on which they were founded were lost; tampering with the penal judgments of the law; when money was payable into court, offering to receive part into his own private pocket, instead of the whole into court, as required by law; refusing to hear argument in court in order to keep his promise made in private!"

The trial lasted twenty-six days, and many witnesses were examined. Some of the witnesses who had been summoned fled to other States. Judge Ryan's closing speech occupied the attention of the Senate for over two days, and it occupies one hundred and fifty printed pages of the bound volume of the proceedings. Those books now are very scarce, but a stray copy can occasionally be found in some lawyer's private library. It is said that Judge Hubbell and his friends gathered them up and burned them whenever and wherever they could find them.

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Horace T. Saunders, chairman of the special committee representing the managers, made a lengthy and solid argument in favor of the prosecution, and James H. Knowlton spoke at great length, ably and convincingly, for the defendant. Mr. Arnold's closing plea for the respondent was a powerful and logical argument, such as no other man in the State could have made. He devoted his time to an examination of the testimony in the case, and paid little attention to the torrent of denunciation which Mr. Ryan had poured forth against the defendant, but let it pass as the idle wind. At the conclusion, Judge Hubbell, who had been present through all the terrible trial, made a few feeling remarks that evidently had great weight with the Senate. Among other things, he said: "I wish to say to this court and to the world that I have not shunned this investigation. In my office I have acted as I thought was right at the time, and at all times. If the proof—if the evidence—if the truth condemns me I wish this court to say that I stand condemned. Upon the law and the testimony, as you, in your consciences and understandings, believe them to exist, I wish my sentence to be pronounced!"

After the Senate had been polled upon all the charges and specifications, the President of the Senate announced the result of the trial in the following form:

"The resolution provides that the president of the Senate shall announce the decision of the court. I therefore announce that Levi Hubbell, Judge of the Second Judicial Circuit, is hereby declared by this court not guilty of the charges of corrupt conduct in office, nor of crimes and misdemeanors, as charged in the articles and specifications exhibited against him by the Assembly of the State of Wisconsin!"

The court then adjourned sine die, and thus ended the first impeachment trial ever held in Wisconsin, and one that will interest law students as long as people investigate the lives and conduct of past generations. Some extracts from the daily papers of that date will give the reader an idea of the public judgment of this important case:

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(From the Janesville Gazette, July 16, 1853.)

The result is the acquittal of Judge Hubbell—a verdict, so far as we have heard an expression in this vicinity, more in accordance with the fears than the wishes or expectations of the people. For some cause long before an impeachment had been attempted, a very general feeling of distrust in the integrity of the accused had grown up and steadily strengthened, and when the charges upon which he was tried were announced, numerous and various in their nature as they were, after a lengthened examination by a committee of high personal character, they so coincided with a previously formed estimate of the character of the man, that little doubt was entertained the trial would develop sufficient to remove him from the position he had succeeded in obtaining, and was believed to have too often abused. These expectations, however, are disappointed; and now, whether the accused is to be as fortunate in removing a settled conviction from the minds of the people as in securing a verdict of acquittal from the court is yet to be known.

* * * An acquittal by a jury is not always an acquittal before the public, and the rules of a law court are not always such as govern a public verdict.

(From the Madison State Journal, July 12, 1853.)

Never has a longer array of charges and specifications been presented against any man—and never was man pursued with a more determined spirit of opposition, than has been Judge Hubbell. He has met those charges promptly and manfully—has courted a thorough investigation—has asked for no mercy or delay, beyond what an honest Senate could award to him—and has come out of the investigation in triumph! * * *

When the decision of the court was announced, popular enthusiasm for the Judge—long held in check, could no longer be restrained. Immense crowds gathered in the streets after dark—bonfires were kindled—the bells rung—fireworks displayed, and cannon discharged; while enthusiastic cheers at intervals evinced the popular feeling. [Here follows a short account of a speech he delivered to the crowd from his boarding house.]

He has ever had a strong hold upon the masses, and now, that he has passed through a fiery ordeal and come out triumphant, that hold will be still stronger.

(From the Madison Daily Argus and Democrat, August 18, 1853.)

He [Hubbell] stands before [the] community to-day presenting the anomaly of a convicted criminal dispensing the forms of jus-

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[illegible] 1853.]

[illegible] of his great [illegible] a verdict, offer [illegible] in accordance [illegible] or expectations of the people. For [illegible] been an impeachment had been attempted a [illegible] the [illegible] of the case has [illegible] the charge supported [illegible] and [illegible] he [illegible] the [illegible] be accounted [illegible] and manner they were received with a [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] and was [illegible] used. In such expectations, however, are [illegible] which [illegible] as [illegible] a solid conviction from the [illegible] of the people as to [illegible] a [illegible] from the courts yet to be known.

We regret that a jury is not always an acquired [illegible] of the people, and that [illegible] court are not always such as [illegible] the people [illegible].

[From the Madison State Journal, July 12, 1853.]

Never has a bill of charges and specifications been presented against any man, and never was man pursued with a more determinate spirit of persecution, than has been Judge Hall. He has met those charges promptly and manfully, has courted a thorough investigation, has asked no more or delay, beyond what an honest man could avail to him, and has come out of the investigation triumphant.

When the decision of the court was announced, people [illegible] the Judge [illegible] hold in check, could no longer be [illegible] [illegible] in the streets after dark [illegible] the halls ring, fire works displayed, and [illegible] while enthusiastic cheers at intervals evinced a feeling. [Here follows a short account of a speech he [illegible] at a boarding house.]

[illegible] a strong hold upon the masses, and [illegible] through the political [illegible] [illegible] will strong [illegible]

[From the Daily Argus and Democrat, August 18, 1853.]

[illegible] bill requiring [illegible] to be presented [illegible] annual [illegible] the forms of [illegible]

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Wm. P. Lyon

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tice to others, himself but escaped from the penalty of crime by legal construction. He was convicted. His satellites, sympathizers, and coadjutors may triumph in his escape, but it is the triumph of guilt over the immunity of crime. The recorded judgment of twelve Senators to his guilt cannot be repealed or expunged from the written history of the State, and we believe the moral sense of [the] community will sustain that judgment.

(From the Milwaukee Sentinel, July 13, 1853.)

We discharge a very agreeable duty in announcing to our readers this morning the triumphant acquittal of Judge Hubbell by the High Court of Impeachment, before which he has been on trial for the past thirty days. * * * It will be seen that upon a single specification only, out of seventy preferred, was the court equally divided, and in more than half of the whole number that decision was substantially unanimous. It would be difficult to conceive of a more signal triumph or a more complete vindication. * * * The news of the result flew like wildfire through the city and excited everywhere the liveliest satisfaction. The popular feeling manifested itself by salutes of artillery and blazing bonfires in all parts of the city.

Judge Hubbell continued to occupy the bench in the Second Judicial Circuit until 1856, when he resigned and returned to the practice of law. When the Civil War broke out in 1861, he united with other war Democrats in the hearty support of Mr. Lincoln's administration in putting down the Rebellion. In 1870 he was appointed United States District Attorney for the Eastern District of Wisconsin, at the request of Senator Carpenter, which office he retained until 1875, when he was suspended at the breaking out of the Whisky ring developments, and finally removed. Judge Hubbell died in Milwaukee from the effects of a fall upon the sidewalk.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE GLOVER RESCUE AND SHERMAN M. BOOTH.

The first year of Governor William A. Barstow's administration was marked by two of the most important political events that had occurred in the history of Wisconsin up to that time. These incidents have both been indelibly impressed upon our annals. The first was the Glover rescue case, which culminated in a clash between the State and Federal Supreme Courts that attracted the attention of the nation, and the arrest and punishment of Sherman M. Booth for an alleged violation of the Fugitive Slave Act. The other incident was the organization of the Republican party by a great mass meeting held in Madison, July 13, 1854. It took over six years to dispose of Sherman M. Booth, from March 11, 1854, when Glover was taken out of the Milwaukee jail by a mob, until March 2, 1861, when President Buchanan remitted Booth's fines and costs—a beautiful example of the law's delay! The great political party that was organized that year, composed of all the different factions that were opposed to the further extension of slavery, is still doing business at the old stand!

It is seldom that a man in these latter days has been so unjustly prosecuted and persecuted as Sherman M. Booth was in the Glover rescue case. He did not counsel or advise the rescue of Glover by force. He was not one of the mob. He was for peaceable and legal methods. He constantly advised against violence in private and in public. Yet he was made the scapegoat of the whole transaction. He was held responsible for the sins of others. A much more appropriate subject for the slaveholder's wrath would have been Edward P. Allis, the founder of the great iron works in Milwaukee, and a candidate for Governor of Wisconsin on the radical greenback ticket in 1877. Mr. Allis had hold of the piece of square timber which was used as a battering-ram when the door of the

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CHAPTER IX.

[illegible] WISCONSIN MOBOCRACY.

[illegible] Wilson's administration [illegible] important political events that [illegible] Wisconsin [illegible] These [illegible] The [illegible] Supreme Court [illegible] Fugitive Slave Act [illegible] organization of the Republican party [illegible] July 13, 1854. [illegible] President Buchanan [illegible] Vetoes [illegible] the old [illegible]

[illegible] Wilson [illegible] was for peace and [illegible] against violence [illegible] private [illegible] or others. A [illegible] would have been [illegible] in Mr. [illegible] who [illegible]

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Yours very truly
Jas. S. Mitchell

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jail was smashed in and the slave taken out. Mr. Allis was guilty of the overt act, while Booth stood off at a safe distance with his hands stuffed into his trousers' pockets, expressing his regrets to Byron Paine and Dr. E. B. Wolcott that the jail had been broken open. There were others who furnished the wagon and who drove the trembling fugitive away. Booth made a propitiation for the sins of all the Abolitionists in Wisconsin. It was a vicarious atonement! He was fined and imprisoned, his property sold to pay costs and court expenses, his business broken up, and himself driven into bankruptcy. The case, briefly stated, was this: A runaway slave, named Joshua Glover, from Missouri, was pursued and overtaken by his master near Racine, knocked down with a club, cruelly beaten, hand-cuffed and carried to Milwaukee and lodged in jail. Booth got news of the affair, and at once resolved that the alleged slave should not be carried away without a fair trial. Meantime, about 100 indignant citizens from Racine went to Milwaukee on a boat, to take part in the subsequent proceedings, and prevent kidnapping on the soil of Wisconsin. They had Garland, the slave hunter, arrested for assault and battery, but he was released on bail by Judge A. G. Miller, of the United States District Court. As to calling the public meeting, and his participation in the affair, Mr. Booth gives the following account:

"In riding through the streets of Milwaukee to call a public meeting I did not cry, as was reported and sworn to, 'Freemen, to the rescue!' A forcible rescue was never my purpose. I aimed simply to secure for Glover a fair trial and competent counsel. And in calling the meeting I used but two forms of speech, viz: 'All freemen' or 'All free citizens who are opposed to being made slaves or slavecatchers turn out to a meeting in the courthouse square at 2 o'clock,' the only variation being I sometimes used the word 'men' and sometimes the word 'citizens.' I counseled against violence, publicly and privately. Yet in all the histories of this case—in newspapers, pamphlets and books—I am represented as riding through the streets of Milwaukee shouting 'Freemen, to the rescue!' And only the other day The Chicago Legal News glorified me as riding on a white charger doing the rescue act. I respectfully decline the honor of a deed which I never performed. The

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only responsibility attaching to me for the rescue of Glover is that I helped create a strong public sentiment against the Fugitive Slave Act and called the meeting to protect the legal rights of Glover and give him a fair trial. If, when assembled for peaceable and lawful purposes, the course of the judge and his bailiffs excited the people to take Glover out of jail against my advice I was guiltless of the rescue."

A man's own testimony as to his own actions in a given case ought to be accepted as truth, especially when he has no motive to misrepresent the facts, but it sometimes happens that, under the strain of intense excitement, the principal actor in a drama may be so wrought up that he is not as certain about what is transpiring as a disinterested and self-poised observer. The burden of proof seems to be against the statement of Mr. Booth, and some of this evidence he recites against himself in the above quotation. Mr. Peter Van Vechten, who was an eye-witness of the whole proceeding, writes as follows, to refute Mr. Booth's statements:

"Booth can't get out of his riding a horse through the town and crying 'Freemen, to the rescue!' There are too many men yet living who saw and heard him—myself among the number. That was his cry. After repeating it twice, he then told them to meet at the courthouse square at 2 o'clock. He rode a dark brown horse, nearly a black, that had a white face and four white feet, or white stockings, as the white extended nearly to the animal's knees. Alonzo Boynton not only saddled the horse for Booth, but helped him on. He started from George Oakley's livery stable, that stood then where the Plankinton House dining room now stands. There are plenty of men now living who saw him. Booth made an awkward appearance on horseback, but he made him go just the same. Dr. J. B. Dousman was so prejudiced against Booth that he swore in court that he saw him in the wagon that took the nigger away. But he was mistaken. Frank Raymond took Glover in his light express wagon, and George Brigham rode in behind. As they went off on a gallop, George said to the crowd: 'If you want the darkey, why don't you come and get him?' John A. Messenger took him in his wagon when they crossed East Water street bridge, and Dexter carried him from

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about Twenty-fifth street and National avenue to Waukesha. They changed wagons so that the marshal could not follow them."

Mr. Booth thinks this is another evidence of the longevity of a falsehood, but it is just possible that he was in such a state of excitement that he did not know what he really did say. The exclamation, if made, was not discreditable to him, under the circumstances, neither was it inappropriate to the occasion. Now that it has been going the rounds of the press for over forty years, and has been incorporated into the history of the case, Mr. Booth might as well give it up and confess that after all he might have been mistaken, and that he did cry out—"Freemen, to the rescue!" Sometime in the future, when men's prejudices shall have died out, and a monument is erected to Mr. Booth's memory in the Milwaukee courthouse square, where those stirring scenes were enacted, in honor of the man who defied the authority of a bad and inhuman law, and who would rather obey the laws of God than the cruel statutes of man, two inscriptions might appropriately be written upon it. One—

"FREEMEN! TO THE RESCUE!"

And the other, relating to Booth's persecutors—

"And ever the right comes uppermost,
And ever is justice done!"

The slave Glover made his way to Canada on a free pass over the underground railroad, and Sherman M. Booth and John Rycraft were indicted by the Grand Jury and tried in the United States District Court for aiding in the rescue of said Glover. They were found guilty of violating the Fugitive Slave Law. Booth was fined one thousand dollars and costs, and sentenced to one month's imprisonment in the county jail. John Rycraft was fined two hundred dollars, and sentenced to ten days' imprisonment. Garland afterwards got judgment against Booth for one thousand dollars, the alleged value of his lost slave.

Those who wish to investigate this thrilling incident in Wisconsin's history in more detail than is here given, will find it discussed at considerable length in the following works: "Bench and Bar of Wisconsin," page 496; Wisconsin Reports (Vilas & Bryant's), page 517; History of the Republican Party, page 122;

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Thwaites' "Story of the State," page 291; "History of Milwaukee," page 215; Booth's Press Association speech, March 11, 1897, and Tuttle's "History of Wisconsin," page 306. These accounts vary very little. The subject is worthy of a much more extended notice than our limited space allows for its discussion.

On the first day of August, 1860, two resolute men entered the Milwaukee custom house, where Booth was imprisoned in the jury room, overpowered the guard, took Booth out, locked the sentinel in the room, and walked the prisoner down Wisconsin street to the St. Paul depot, in broad daylight. These courageous men were Prof. Edward Daniels, late State Geologist, and Col. LaGrange. Booth went to Waupun, and stayed a few days with the late Col. Hans C. Heg, who was then the State Prison Commissioner. It has been stated that Heg secreted Booth in the prison and thwarted the deputy United States marshal, who was sent there to rearrest him; but that is not true. Booth went in and out of the prison for two days at will, and one evening he told the story of his rescue from the postoffice at a public hall in Waupun to a crowd of people who had assembled to hear him. One of the deputy marshals went to the prison and held an interview with Booth, the two being introduced by Heg, but did not attempt to arrest him. Booth flourished his pistol and told the marshal that if he laid a hand upon him he would kill him! The deputy's name was Greulich, and he went off without attempting the arrest. Booth was afterwards arrested and taken back to Milwaukee to his old cage in the postoffice, where he remained until his fine and costs were remitted by President Buchanan.

Perhaps no man who had anything to do with the Glover rescue case was so universally misunderstood and misrepresented as Andrew G. Miller, then judge of the Federal court for the State of Wisconsin. It was his business to enforce the laws; that was what he was appointed to do, and that is what he did in the Glover case, no matter on which side his sympathies and personal preferences might have been. He was called all sorts of hard names by the Abolitionists, such as "Southern sympathizer," "Old Hunker," "the tool of the slaveholders," and other pet names which he did not deserve. Judge Miller's father held slaves in

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[illegible] State, [illegible] March, 1867, and [illegible] Wisconsin [illegible] page [illegible]. These accounts are [illegible] worthy of a [illegible] discussion.

On [illegible] August, 1864 two [illegible] were imprisoned in the [illegible] Booth [illegible] and [illegible] Wisconsin [illegible] Paul depot in broad daylight. These [illegible] Daniels, the State Geologist, and [illegible] Warren, and stayed a few days with [illegible] College, who was then the State [illegible]. It has been stated that Hogg secreted Booth in the [illegible] United States marshal, who was [illegible] to rear [illegible]; but that is not true. Booth [illegible] of [illegible] in [illegible] of people who [illegible] assembled to be [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] Hogg [illegible] attempt [illegible] would [illegible] the marshal [illegible] would [illegible] Hogg [illegible] attempting the arrest [illegible] and taken back to [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] by President Freeman.

[illegible] to be with the [illegible] Federal court for the State [illegible] was [illegible] and that is what we did in the [illegible] have been [illegible] collect all [illegible] "sympathizers," [illegible] Hogg [illegible]

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Pennsylvania when that was a slave State, and he manumitted those when it was very unpopular to do so. His uncle in Baltimore set his slaves at liberty also, having become convinced that to hold them in bondage was a crime against human nature. So it is only reasonable to suppose that Judge Miller's sympathies were not in favor of slavery. He often said that he did not believe any Northern man could sanction that wicked institution. He imprisoned Booth because it was his plain duty to do so, and to execute an obnoxious and inhuman law of Congress, a law which the Supreme Court of the United States had declared to be constitutional. He had not sworn to support the "higher law." He must enforce the law as he found it, or resign. President Grant once said that the quickest way to get an obnoxious law repealed was to enforce it. It is not forgotten how the mob that broke in the jail door and rescued Glover, stopped in front of Judge Miller's residence and gave him three groans, and applied insulting epithets to him. It has often been said that Booth's pardon, which was issued just before President Buchanan left the presidential office, was due to the kindly offices of James R. Doolittle, then United States Senator from Wisconsin. That is a mistake. No doubt Judge Doolittle gladly did what he could to get Booth set at liberty, but his pardon was procured by quite another influence. It was due to the good offices of Judge Miller himself. He was a Pennsylvanian by birth and knew President Buchanan personally and well. He wrote Buchanan without solicitation from any quarter that it would be a graceful ending of "this unfortunate affair" if the President would issue to Booth immediately an unconditional pardon, on his retirement from the office of chief magistrate. Buchanan immediately replied, thanking Judge Miller for the suggestion, and assuring him that he would act upon it. It is reasonable to suppose that the judge who sentenced Booth to prison would have more influence with the President in procuring a pardon than any other person. This fact has never before been in print, though it has long been known to a few of Judge Miller's intimate friends. It was an act of kindness towards his bitterest enemy, who had reviled him in season and out, in almost every issue of his paper for months, and had prejudiced the public mind against him.

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Mr. B. K. Miller, son of the late A. G. Miller, has in his possession two letters written by his father in relation to the Booth case. One is a letter addressed to President Buchanan, dated April 20, 1860, recommending the remission of Booth's fine and costs, and the other is addressed to Hon. J. S. Black, the Attorney-General, asking for Booth's release from imprisonment. The first letter is as follows:

"Milwaukee, April 20, 1860.

"Sir: Mr. Upham, the district attorney, has shown me a petition for the release of Sherman M. Booth from custody, which he has been requested to forward to Your Excellency. The petition is signed by several of our most respectable citizens, principally of the opposition in politics to the administration. Mr. Upham will forward the petition in pursuance of their request.

"The prisoner applied to the Supreme Court of the State for a writ of habeas corpus very soon after his imprisonment, which the court, by a divided court, refused. Chief Justice Dixon, although of the opposition in politics, refused the writ. Since then he has been reëlected by a small majority over the Republican nominee—the Democrats running no candidate of their own. The position he took in the matter was the reason of his rejection by the Republican convention, and was the issue on which he is elected by a majority not exceeding 500. Since then the prisoner applied for and obtained from a State Court Commissioner a writ of habeas corpus, to which the marshal made return refusing to surrender the prisoner, and the writ and proceedings were dismissed.

"The term of imprisonment expired on the 23d of March, which, including the seven days he was in the county jail before his discharge, make thirty days, or one month. On that day he commenced suits against the marshal and myself for false imprisonment and for the penalty prescribed by the law for a rearrest after a discharge by order of the Supreme Court. That penalty is $1,250. The grounds alleged for the false imprisonment are that I, as judge, made an order for a rearrest and the marshal made the arrest under an unconstitutional law, and for this reason I had no jurisdiction. We have filed our answer to the complaints according to the State practice. We have no apprehen-

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sions of an unfavorable result, for even if the State courts should adhere to their position against the law, the Supreme Court of the United States would reverse the judgments.

"I do not think it proper in me to oppose the release of the prisoner on account of these suits, as I have not the least apprehension of a result prejudicial to either the marshal or myself. When Booth was first imprisoned under the sentence, he brought suits against myself and the district attorney, which, on being brought to trial, were discontinued. Strictly, he is not entitled to executive clemency while the suits are pending. But I think a pardon of the fine and costs would be approved by the people. His imprisonment in a room of the custom house is attended with daily expenses, as a guard has to be constantly on duty, and it is also inconvenient, as the room occupied is the jury room, which is needed for that purpose.

"I will take this occasion to inform you that in this business the marshal has discharged a faithful duty.

"I have the honor to be very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"A. G. MILLER.

"To His Excellency, James Buchanan, Washington."

The letter to the Attorney-General, J. S. Black, is as follows:

"Milwaukee, May 2, 1860.

"Dear Sir: The enclosed certificates of the discontinuance of the suits of Sherman M. Booth against the marshal and myself were handed in this morning, and I have concluded to forward them for the consideration of the President in the application for Booth's release from imprisonment. He has been imprisoned a month since his term of imprisonment expired, and I respectfully request that he be released.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"A. G. MILLER.

"Hon. J. S. Black, Atty.-Gen. U. S., Washington."

Booth's sentence was imprisonment for one month, and to pay a fine of $1,000 and costs of prosecution, amounting in all to $1,250. As Booth had served out his term of imprisonment, he had no need of a pardon, and none was ever granted him, but he was held in durance until he paid the penalty. When President Buchanan

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remitted the fine and costs, as he did on the 2d of March, 1861, two days before his official term expired, Booth went forth a free man. In nearly all accounts of this noted trial the statement is made that Booth was pardoned by the President, but the above letter from Judge Miller to Attorney-General Black explains that Booth had already served out his term of imprisonment and had been held one month longer because he could not pay the fine and costs assessed against him, amounting to $1,250.

A large number of men in the North during the war, of which Judge Miller was the type, was crowded into a position of seeming disloyalty to the government by a train of circumstances that they could not prevent. They were not pro-slavery men at heart, but slavery had been sanctioned by what they regarded as the wisest of all compacts, the Constitution of the United States, which they had been taught to venerate, as they had been taught to venerate and uphold the national flag. There was the Supreme Court of the United States declaring the Fugitive Slave Law constitutional; that the negro slave had no rights which a white man was bound to respect, and they remembered the illustrious names of Jay, Ellsworth, Marshall and Story. They had heard it proclaimed from orthodox pulpits in their earlier days, that slavery was a divine institution, and that it could be defended from Holy Writ. Were they to despise the Constitution that was framed by Washington, Franklin, Madison and Hamilton? or refuse to obey the laws of Congress, sanctioned by the highest judicial tribunal? Some of them were inconsistent. "This is a government of law," shouted the strict constructionist, "and the government itself must obey the law." Others wanted the rebellion put down constitutionally, when the Constitution never contemplated such a civil war and had made no provision for suppressing it. There was the negro that the two sections were at war about; was he to be considered a person or a chattel? or was he both? Was he to be allowed to fight on either side, the prize being his own liberty? No; this was a white man's war, and the negro must not stay the fratricidal hand of his master although he saw the incendiary applying the torch to the Temple of Liberty! The Democratic party in the South was in armed rebellion against the government to a

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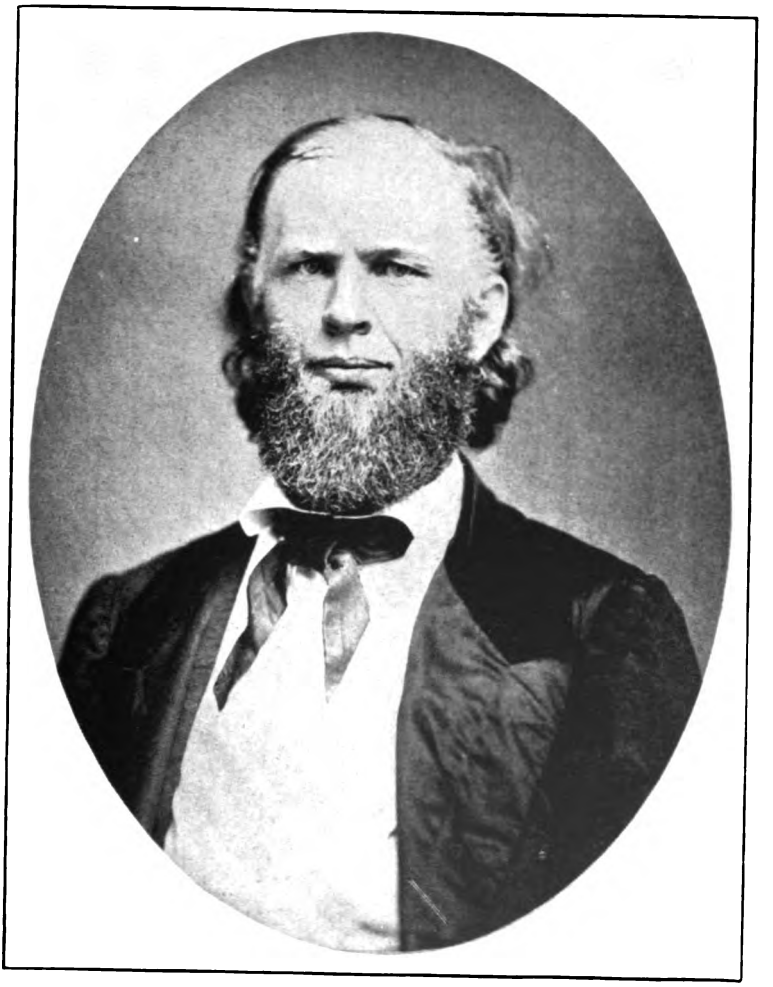
[illegible] as need for the [illegible] of March, 1861, [illegible] to secure that free [illegible] of [illegible] statements [illegible] Dr. [illegible], that the [illegible] [illegible] Africans that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]



Byron Paine

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man, and that was bad for the Democrats of the North. President Buchanan's cabinet was a nest of disloyal men, plotting for the overthrow of the Union; bad again for all who had voted for him. Many Northern Democrats were called disloyal who were not. Thousands of them did not approve of the war; they honestly thought that it might have been avoided, and hoped against hope for a peaceable settlement of the difficulty. They believed that if Stephen A. Douglas had been elected President in place of Abraham Lincoln, there would not have been an appeal to arms on the part of the South. But when the fight began they obeyed the laws, sent their sons to the front, paid their taxes, helped to fill quotas, hired substitutes and did everything that was required of them, except to vote the Republican ticket. This they persistently refused to do, and for so refusing—which was their inalienable right—they were abused, lampooned, misrepresented, nicknamed and caricatured. Some few of them, like Vallandigham and men of his class, deserved all the discipline they received, but not so a great majority of the Democratic party north of Mason and Dixon's line. And what is singular about this matter is that these men are the last to be forgiven. The brave men on both sides who met in deadly conflict on the field of battle have long ago clasped hands in friendly agreement to forget the past, and now, when the Blue and the Gray fellowship each other around the campfire, and the graves of Union and Confederate soldiers are alike decorated with flowers, it would be well if the mantle of charity could be extended to those whose worst offense during the war was in exercising their constitutional right to cast their ballots in protest against the policy of the party in power. It is high time that a proclamation of universal amnesty was issued, and a reversal of that unkind judgment, which was rendered in the excitement of Civil war, when passion and prejudice were at white heat, was entered in the court of public opinion.

Booth's misfortune—if it can be called a misfortune for an ambitious man to become forever identified with the history of a great State—afforded Byron Paine an opportunity to come to the front, and paved the way for his promotion to a high and honorable position among his fellow men, in and out of the legal

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profession. Paine was at that time a young man but recently admitted to the bar, where he had not made much of a reputation. His early education had been scant; he had "little Latin and less Greek," but he had great natural abilities, an innate sense of justice, immense moral stamina and a tender conscience, to the dictates of which he was always loyal. He had been brought up to abhor slavery, and it was his State rights argument, which was wrong in theory, but which suited the anti-slavery sentiment of the times, that opened the way for his elevation to a seat on the Supreme bench. Booth at that time owned a widely circulated and influential newspaper which was ever after devoted to Paine's advancement. When it was decided by the Republican managers that it would not be good politics to renominate Judge A. D. Smith for reëlection to the Supreme Court, after his decision in the Booth case declaring the Fugitive Slave Act unconstitutional, Paine became the logical candidate of the extremists, who were then in the saddle, as illogical as it may now seem, as Smith's decision was based upon Paine's argument, and the one was no worse than the other.

The people of the State suffered a severe loss in the death of Judge Paine. Had he lived he had a brilliant future before him in the line of his profession. When he died there were many eloquent tributes paid to his memory by his associates at the bar, none more appreciative, truthful and cordial than that spoken by his life-long antagonist at the forum, the late Chief Justice Ryan, who said:

"When I first met Judge Paine at the bar he was still a very young man; but he had already given unmistakable evidence of the power that was in him. The first opportunity I had of forming an estimate of his high ability was in the famous case under the Fugitive Slave Act, in 1854 and 1855. He was employed by the defendant, I for the United States. We both brought to the case, not only ordinary professional zeal, but all the prejudices of our lives. He was a frank and manly Abolitionist. I was as decidedly what was called pro-slavery. We were both thoroughly in earnest. The case was attended with great popular excitement; it was one of many muttered sounds of troubled elements, fore-

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boding the great storm which has since passed over the country. He died undoubtedly believing that the results had justified his views. I shall probably die believing that they have justified mine. I thought him a fanatic; he undoubtedly thought me one. Possibly we both were. But in all that antagonism and excitement I could not fail to see, I could not fail to do justice to the integrity of his motives, or the ability of his conduct. I then conceived an estimate of the beauty of his character, and of his great professional ability, which has never since changed, and which will probably be among the last and dearest memories of my professional life."

Judge Paine died at Madison January 13, 1871. There is a good picture of him in the Supreme Court room and a better one in the possession of his brother-in-law, Mr. C. C. Paine, of Milwaukee.

Notwithstanding the seriousness of having our Supreme Court nullify an act of Congress, and defy the authority of the Supreme Court of the United States, together with mobs breaking down jails and rescuing runaway slaves, the humorous side of passing events was not allowed to pass unnoticed. In writing the famous opinion of the court in the "celebrated case" of Clark vs. Farington, which gave a knockout blow to the railroad farm mortgagors, Judge Paine went out of his way and lugged in a highly eulogistic paragraph on the immense benefit which the railroads conferred upon the public, saying among other good things, that "there is probably not a man, woman or child whose interest or comfort has not been in some degree subserved by them. They bring to our doors the productions of the earth. They enable us to anticipate and protract the seasons. They enable the inhabitants of each clime to enjoy the pleasures and luxuries of all!" Meeting Hon. I. C. Sloan, himself a fine lawyer, a few days after the decision was published, he asked me if I had read Byron Paine's "early vegetable argument in favor of railroads?"

In his letter to President Buchanan, Judge Miller's reference to the refusal of our Supreme Court to grant Booth a writ of habeas corpus, as had been its habit, needs a word of explanation. The suit was then over six years old, and two new judges had taken their seats upon the Supreme bench. Judge Whiton had

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died in 1859 and Luther S. Dixon had been appointed Chief Justice by Governor Randall. Judge A. D. Smith, who wrote the famous decision in the Booth case, had been set aside by the Republican managers, and Byron Paine nominated and elected in his stead, as an associate justice of the Supreme Court. Judge Dixon held that the Fugitive Slave Act was constitutional, and that it ought to be obeyed until it was repealed; consequently, as Paine could not sit in the case--having been of counsel for Booth — and Dixon being opposed to Judge Cole's State rights view of the matter, the application failed as the court was divided. There was another factor in the case that led to the refusal of the Republican convention to endorse Judge Dixon, and which came near defeating him at the polls. A large number of Wisconsin farmers in various parts of the State had mortgaged their farms for stock in aid of the building of railroads, and the most of the railroad companies becoming bankrupt, the holders of the securities were urging payment. The Supreme Court had held unanimously—Judge Paine writing the decision—that the mortgages were good and must be paid. Judge A. Scott Sloan, who was nominated and almost elected over Judge Dixon, agreed with the State rights decision of Judge Smith, and had expressed an opinion that the railroad farm mortgages should be declared null and void on account of fraud. Thus he antagonized Judge Dixon on two of the most interesting and important questions then before the people of the State.

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[illegible] appeared that Judge A. D. Smith, who wrote the [illegible] set aside by the [illegible] Act as constitutional and [illegible] having [illegible] for both [illegible] United States [illegible] of [illegible] the court was [illegible] There [illegible] A large number of [illegible] in [illegible] stock [illegible] the [illegible] were [illegible] Court [illegible] good [illegible] Scott [illegible] who was [illegible] Justices [illegible] expressed an opinion [illegible] the [illegible] Judge. [illegible]

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J. V. Quarles

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CHAPTER X.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, the decision in the Dred Scott case, and the other numerous aggressive acts of the slaveholders, then in dominant and domineering power in Congress, had fully aroused the people of the North. The ignominious defeat of Gen. Winfield Scott, the Whig candidate for the presidency, and the election of Franklin Pierce, who has been described as "a Northern man with Southern principles," had seemed to open the way for the formation of a new party having for its cardinal principle the non-extension of slavery. It took some time to convince many of the old Whigs that the party of Adams, Clay and Webster was really dead and buried, and that there never would be a friendly hand stretched forth to roll the stone away from its sepulcher. In Wisconsin there was a bitter quarrel inside of the Democratic party between the old stagers headed by Senator Dodge, Judge Dunn and Moses M. Strong, and the younger and more progressive element, led by Harrison C. Hobart, Nelson Dewey, Fred Horn and others. God's mill was grinding slowly. The Dodge faction was totally routed in the convention that nominated Barstow over J. C. Fairchild, and the old régimé received its death blow then and there. Barstow's first term gave much dissatisfaction to many influential Democrats, and paved the way for his defeat in his second race with Bashford.

Meantime, the Republican party was forming in men's minds. One of the first, if not the very first man, to move in the matter was A. E. Bovay, of Ripon. He had been a Whig all his life, but in the defeat of General Scott in 1852 he saw with prophetic eye the utter extinction of his party. Horace Greeley was then editing The New York Tribune with its 100,000 subscribers, and it was regarded as the leading Whig organ in the United States. Bovay

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wrote Greeley often, with whom he was on terms of intimacy, urging him to face the inevitable, to acknowledge the death and burial of the old Whig party, and to give his powerful aid and influence in organizing a new party which should combine all the elements of all parties that were hostile to the extension of slavery into new territory. Greeley hesitated for a long time, but Bovay worked on. He also was the man who first suggested that the new party be called "Republican." Mr. Bovay has full credit given him in Henry Wilson's "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America," in the following extract:

"One of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the movements that contemplated definite action and the formation of a new party, was made at Ripon, Fond du Lac county, Wisconsin, in the early months of 1854, in consequence of a very thorough canvass, conference and comparison of views inaugurated by A. E. Bovay, a prominent member of the Whig party, among the Whigs, Free Soilers and Democrats of that town. A call was issued for a public meeting to consider the grave issues which were assuming an aspect of such alarming importance. The meeting was held on the last day of February, in the Congregational church. It was largely attended by persons of both sexes from the town and surrounding country. It was a meeting solely for the discussion of principles and comparison of views. The burden and drift of the speeches were the hopeless subserviency of the national parties to the behests of the slaveholders, the necessity of abandoning them, and the proposed policy of constructing a party from the materials thus set at liberty, with such as could be persuaded to leave the Democratic party for a similar purpose. A resolution was adopted that if the Nebraska bill, then pending, should pass, they would throw old party organizations to the winds and organize a new party on the sole issue of the non-extension of slavery. A second meeting was held on the 20th of March for the purpose of organization and for the adoption of such preliminary measures as the inauguration of the new party required. By a formal vote of the Town committees the Whig and Free Soil parties were dissolved, and a committee of five, consisting of three Whigs, one Free Soiler and one Democrat, was chosen."

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"The work done on that evening," says Mr. Bovay, "was fully accepted by the Whig and Free Soil parties of all this section immediately, and very soon—that is to say, in a few months—by these parties throughout the State. A State Convention was held in July, by which the organization of the party was perfected for the State, a majority of the delegation was secured for next Congress, and a Free Soiler, Charles Durkee, was elected to the Senate of the United States."

Mr. Bovay gave the following reasons for calling the new party Republican: "First, political parties should have significant names, and this name is significant of the thing which we wish to symbolize—Respublica—the common weal. It is suggestive of equality. Secondly, it was used by the party of Jefferson in its best and purest days, when it was really the friend, and not the enemy of the human race, and has left a hallowed memory behind it. But lastly—and in point of expediency—it is the cherished name with our foreign population of every nationality."

The honor of writing and printing the call that brought together the great mass meeting which met in Madison July 13th, 1854, at which the Republican party was organized, belongs to Sherman M. Booth, then the editor of The Free Democrat, published in Milwaukee. What Mr. Booth says about that call, is here quoted:

"At the close of 1853, the liberty-loving portions of the old parties began to talk of the slave power. The Free Democrat encouraged this disposition in every possible way. Ohio, as the summer drew nigh, proposed a State Convention of all anti-slavery men of that State, at Columbus on the 13th of July, 1854, the anniversary of the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, consecrating the territory of the Northwest to freedom. The Milwaukee Sentinel thought it was a good idea. The Madison Journal blew hot and cold, dilated on the virtues of the Whig party and thought it best not to be in a hurry. As time wore on the expressions of the press were more favorable, and The Journal was for union if—yes—on the whole—yes. I tried to get both The Sentinel and The Journal to lead the union movement, but they declined. Meantime I was urged by letters and personal interviews, by members of all parties, to wait no longer, but set the ball rolling. And, on

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the 9th of June, 1854, I wrote and published the following call in The Free Democrat:

"PEOPLE'S MASS STATE CONVENTION.

"At Madison, Thursday, July 13.

"All men opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise, the extension of slavery, and the rule of the slave power, are invited to meet at Madison, Thursday, July 13, to take such measures as may be deemed necessary to prevent the future encroachments of the slave power, to repeal all compromises in favor of slavery, and to establish the principle of freedom as the rule of the State and National governments. The time has come for the union of all free men for the sake of freedom. There is but one alternative. We must unite and be free, or divide and be enslaved by the prætorian bands of the slaveholders and their Nebraska allies.

"MANY CITIZENS.

"June 9, 1854.

"Papers throughout the State, friendly to the objects of the above call, please copy."

"The Sentinel copied and indorsed the call the next morning. The Madison Journal, all the Free Soil, two Democratic and all the Whig presses but one in the State followed suit. And this was the birthday of the Republican party of Wisconsin, of Ohio and Indiana; the last two named holding their State conventions on the same day. Illinois followed over a year later, and New York two years later."

Michigan was a few days ahead of Wisconsin in the organization of the new party, and in placing a ticket for the election of State officers in the field.

The mass meeting at Madison July 13 was a great success in all respects. The newspapers of Madison estimated the number of earnest men who gathered in front of the State House at 3,000, and at that time Madison had but one railroad, and that passed along outside more than a mile from the center of the town. But the people came from all directions and by every mode of conveyance, on foot, on horseback, in carriages, and in the common lumber farm wagon that carried from ten to twenty persons. There

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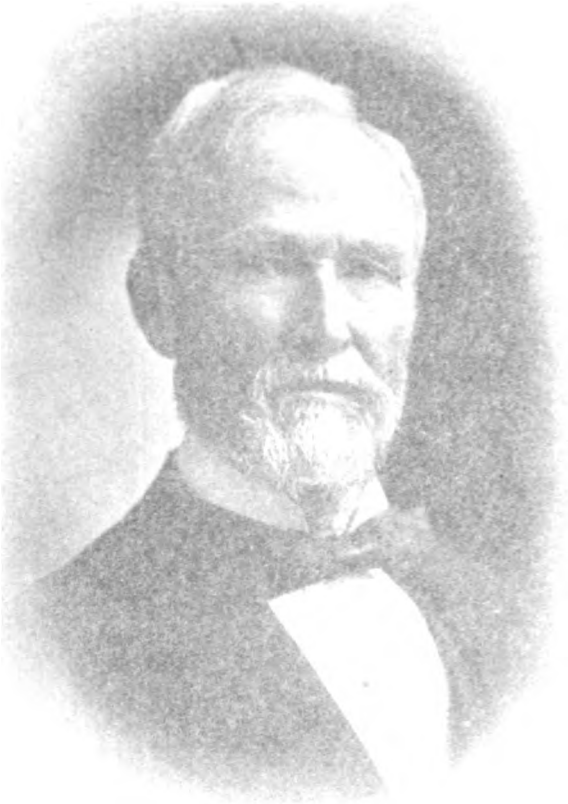

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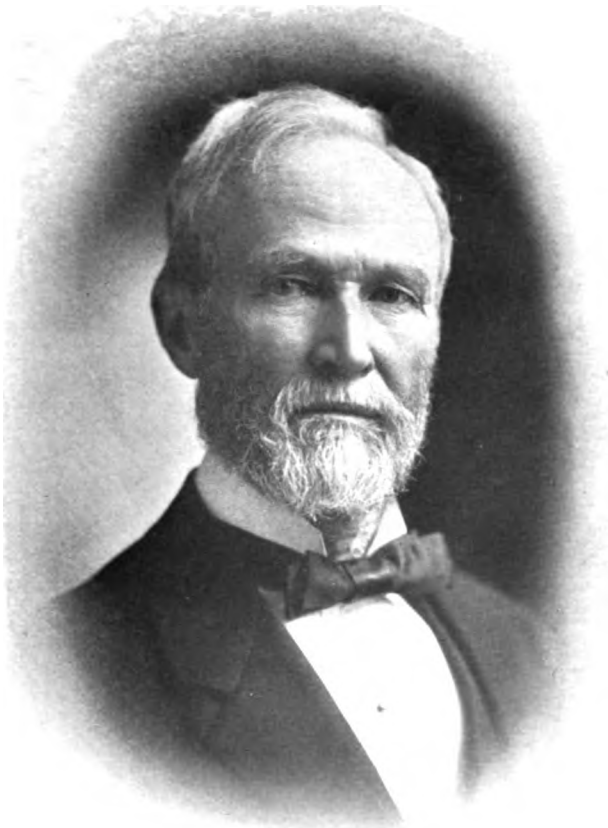

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were old Liberty party men like the venerable John Walworth who regarded slavery as a great moral, rather than as a political question, and who had prayed until they had turned gray for the abolition of it. There were the hard-headed, but conscientious, old Hunker Democrats, strict constructionists of the Constitution, who knew that slavery was wrong, but being intrenched in the Constitution, they were unwilling to interfere with it in the States, but who said, with clenched fists: "I'll be darned if it shall go into the free territories!" There were the old silver grey Whigs from New York State, who had worshiped William H. Seward and had read Greeley's Tribune, but still opposed the abolition movement until now, and some of them had heard it proclaimed from the pulpit that slavery was a divine institution. There were the Free Soilers who did not bother much about the moral aspects of slavery, but believed the free territories ought to be kept free for free men. There were the Garrisonians who contended that the Constitution of the United States "is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell," because it sanctioned slavery. There were Free Traders and high Protectionists, all moved by a common impulse and inspired by one determination, and that single purpose was to forget past differences and hem in the infernal system of chattel slavery in the States, as Jefferson and the fathers intended it should be when they adopted the famous Ordinance of 1787, on the anniversary of the day on which they had assembled. There were Methodists who held with John Wesley that slavery was "the sum of all villainies." There was the Wesleyan Methodist who "trembled for his country when he remembered that God is just," as Jefferson once expressed it. There was the self-conceited Pharisee, whose argument on the slavery question always culminated with the usual question of the times—"Do you want your daughter to marry a nigger?" There was the slick old hypocrite from Nantucket, whose ancestors had got rich in the African slave trade, and whose Sunday-school teacher had been engaged in that same wicked and inhuman traffic. Now there was to be a new dispensation. All the old issues were to be pooled. That typical American, that greater man than Washington—Abraham Lincoln—had not yet become conspicuous in pub-

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lic affairs, nor had he said, as he did five years later: "I do not believe that this Union can long endure half slave and half free"; but other men were thinking it, if they did not say it.

As the Puritans did everything "in the name of God," so the Rev. John Walworth, in calling the meeting to order, and after reading the call, suggested that it be opened with prayer and a patriotic song, which was done, and the first State Convention of Republicans was organized by the election of the following officers:

President—John Walworth of Green.

Vice-Presidents—S. Wakeley of Walworth, Albert Smith of Milwaukee, William Blake of Dodge, Charles Raeser of Manitowoc, J. T. Mills of Grant, Charles Halse of Sauk, W. W. Noyes of Columbia, J. O. Bartlett of Racine and N. W. Dean of Dane.

Secretaries—Horace Rublee of Dane, L. F. Frisby of Washington.

Joseph A. Sleeper, a well-known lawyer of Rock, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, reported the following platform, which was adopted with much enthusiasm:

"Resolved, That the repeated and long-continued encroachments of the slave power, culminating at last in the repeal of the law of freedom in all the hitherto unorganized territory of the Union, forces upon us the conviction that there is no escape from the alternative of freedom or slavery, as a political issue which is to determine whether the future administration of the government shall be devoted to the one or the other.

"Resolved, That we accept this issue, forced upon us by the slave power, and in the defense of freedom will coöperate and be known as Republicans, pledged to the accomplishment of the following purposes:

"To bring the administration of the government back to the control of first principles.

"To restore Nebraska and Kansas to the position of free territories.

"To the repeal and entire abrogation of the Fugitive Slave Act.

"To restrict slavery to the States in which it exists.

"To prohibit the admission of any more slave States into the Union.

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"To exclude slavery from all the territories over which the general government has exclusive jurisdiction. And to resist the acquisition of any more territory unless the prohibition of slavery therein forever shall have been first provided for.

"Resolved, That in furtherance of these purposes we will use such constitutional and lawful means as shall seem best adapted to their accomplishment; and that we will support no man for office under the General or State Government, who is not positively and fully committed to the support of these principles, and whose personal character and conduct is not a guaranty that he is reliable.

"Resolved, That we cordially invite all persons, whether of native or foreign birth, who are in favor of the objects expressed in the above resolutions, to unite with us in carrying them into effect."

The like of that convention never met in Wisconsin before or since. There was but one thought, one intention, one desire, among all those present, and that was to organize and resist the encroachments of the slave oligarchy. The meeting continued long into the night, and speeches were made by L. P. Harvey, George B. Ely, M. H. Orton, H. S. Orton, J. A. Sleeper, James H. Paine, S. M. Booth, C. Clement, J. T. Mills and others. Gen. Rufus King said of it in The Sentinel the next day: "In numbers, in character, and in spirit, it far surpassed any political convention that we have ever attended. It was in all respects a fitting commemoration of the birthday of ordinance of freedom, and gave glorious promise for the future of our noble State." The new organization was everywhere welcomed with enthusiasm, and it soon became compact and coherent. The old Whigs now seemed to realize that their party was defunct, and instead of bewailing its exit from the world the most of them promptly joined the new party, forgetting the things that were behind, and worked industriously for its success. Everybody seemed to be willing to make concessions for the new cause. Whig editors like Gen. Rufus King, David Atwood, Horace Rublee, Charles Holt, Hiram Bowen and others, who had been for years pouring hot shot into the ranks of the Abolitionists, Liberty party men, Free Soilers and

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Barnburners, were now hand in glove with Gen. James H. Paine, Warren Chase, Ichabod Codding, S. M. Booth and their associates. Old Democrats like David Noggle, C. Latham Sholes, Harlow S. Orton and thousands of other loyal men fell into the procession. William E. Cramer, of The Daily Wisconsin, looked with disapproval upon the new movement, and still clung with the tenacity of a drowning man to the old pro-slavery party—breathing out threatenings and slaughter. But Mr. Cramer, like St. Paul on his way to Damascus, was soon to see a great light from heaven and become converted to the truth. Like Paul, when he did espouse the cause of freedom in 1856, he preached the gospel of liberty with zeal and enthusiasm. He has been at it now for over fifty years.

The State was soon organized by counties and congressional districts, local committees were appointed, Republican clubs were formed and all the necessary party machinery was set in motion. Thus began the party of freedom in Wisconsin, and many of the unselfish and patriotic men who stood by its cradle, and who gave it support and succor through all its trials, lived to see it triumph in State and Nation for many years and the great evil of the nineteenth century that called it into existence totally eradicated from the body politic. The names of many brilliant and eminent men are inscribed on its rolls. They helped to make the brightest page ever written in American history. There were statesmen like Lincoln, Chase, Seward, Sumner, Sherman, Blaine and Garfield; there were soldiers like Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, Mead and Hooker; there were orators like Phillips, Carpenter, Butler, Evarts, Ingersoll and Andrews; there were poets like Whittier, Holmes, Longfellow and Julia Ward Howe; there were writers like Greeley, Mrs. Stowe, Garrison and James Russell Lowell; there were preachers like Henry Ward Beecher, E. H. Chapin, Theodore Parker, Robert Collyer, Theodore Cuyler and Thomas Starr King; there were martyrs like E. P. Lovejoy, John Brown and Abraham Lincoln; there were Governors like Alexander W. Randall, John Brough, John A. Dix, Oliver P. Morton, Richard Yates and John A. Andrews; there were lecturers like Mary A. Livermore, Anna E. Dickinson and Frederick Douglass; there were thou-

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[illegible] Morton, Reuben Yates and
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sands of noble women in every walk of life who not only gave their own sons to die on the battlefield, but, forgetting their own grief, gently nursed back to health the living skeletons that escaped from the hells of Libby and Andersonville. And there were loyal men to the number of hundreds of thousands who freely offered their lives that the nation might live. Then, while the great body of the Southern Democracy were fighting like demons in the South, and the Copperheads were hissing in the North, there came to the aid of the government a class of men from the Democratic party—good coming out of Nazareth—without whose help and counsel the nation would have perished forevermore. Let this be written everywhere in letters of living light! Such men as Edwin M. Stanton, John A. Andrews, Simon Cameron, John A. Logan, David Todd, Benjamin F. Butler, James T. Lewis, Matt H. Carpenter, Lucius Fairchild and others of that political faith, deserve to have their names embalmed in imperishable renown.

It has often been charged and it cannot be denied, that the organization of the Republican party and the election of Abraham Lincoln brought on the war with the South; but it was in the same way that a man is responsible for bringing on a fight who resists the burglar that enters his house at midnight, with the intention of robbing and killing him.

The election of Charles Durkee to the Senate of the United States February 1, 1855, was one of the notable political events that occurred during Governor Barstow's administration. Mr. Durkee took the seat that had been occupied by Isaac P. Walker, whose term had expired, and who had fallen into disfavor with a large conservative element in his own party, as well as with the anti-slavery voters, on account of his action as Senator in voting for the admission of California without the Wilmot Proviso to prohibit slavery. As has already been stated in a previous chapter, Walker was pledged to vote against planting slavery into any of the territory acquired from Mexico before he was elected, and after he was elected he was so instructed by a joint resolution passed by the same Legislature that gave him his seat; but he failed to comply with that request. He was censured and asked

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to resign by the same Legislature that elected him, which was largely composed of men of his own political faith. Walker's excuse for disobeying instructions was that slavery would never go there because it would be unprofitable on account of the climate and an adverse public sentiment, and that to ingraft the Wilmot Proviso upon any act admitting States made out of territory acquired from Mexico would be a mere surplusage (see Note at end of Chapter), or as Daniel Webster put it more felicitously in his famous 7th of March speech, it would be merely "re-enacting the laws of God!" Mr. Walker's position was strictly in accord with the wishes of the slavery propagandists, and quite at variance with the sentiment in Wisconsin.

When Charles Durkee was elected to the Senate he was no stranger to the people of Wisconsin. Nobody had to take him on trust. Though not a public speaker, he was a successful business man, public spirited and intelligent, and was thoroughly posted on public affairs. He was an original anti-slavery man, and had been the candidate of his party for Governor and for delegate to Congress in territorial times. He had also served four years in Congress, from 1849 to 1853, the last time defeating a man so able and popular as William Pitt Lynde. His election was attended with considerable excitement. Many prominent politicians of all parties flocked to Madison to witness the proceedings and take a hand in the affair. The Republicans held their caucus on the evening of January 24, and nominated Durkee on the first formal ballot. The vote stood 37 for Durkee, 10 for Louis P. Harvey of Rock, afterwards Governor, and the rest scattering. The Democrats were not so harmonious. Their first caucus resulted in no choice, the vote standing 14 for Byron Kilbourn, 5 for E. G. Ryan, 4 for James Duane Doty and the rest scattering. In the joint convention there were 107 votes; necessary to a choice, 54; of which Charles Durkee had 54, Byron Kilbourn had 39, and the balance scattered among a dozen other distinguished gentlemen. The vote was close enough to make it interesting. How Mr. Durkee's election was regarded by the politicians may be inferred from the following extracts taken from the daily papers of that date:

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(From the Daily State Journal, Feb. 2, 1855.)

The Republicans may well feel elated at this victory. The will of the majority has triumphed in spite of the evasions and tricks of the opposition. A firm, reliable man has been elected, standing out boldly upon the issues of the day; a man whose position has never been doubtful, and whose election, as a triumph of free principle, is worth more to the cause of freedom, in this exigency, than the election of 1,000 timid, vacillating hybrids, styled anti-Nebraska Democrats.

(From the Daily Democrat, Feb. 2, 1855.)

Had the election of United States Senator been consigned to the people of this State instead of to the Legislature, Charles Durkee is probably the last man of all whose names might be mentioned in connection with the office who would have received a majority of the votes. He is unknown to the people of the State. During all the time he was in Congress we believe he never opened his mouth but once. * * * * * He never did anything. * * * * * In all his history, his name has been unknown to the people except as a candidate for office.

He has no intellectual ability above the commonest order—but is a kind-hearted, good-souled man, whom it would be easy to deceive, but impossible to corrupt.

(From the Daily Journal, Feb. 3, 1855.)

There is one especial cause for congratulation over the election of Mr. Durkee. He was the candidate of no railroad clique. No corrupt combination of all the immoralities of politics, with all the intrigues and selfishness of railroad operators, selected him as its candidate or urged his election. * * * * * * A number of candidates were backed by railroad influences, and none of them so strongly as Byron Kilbourn. It was upon them more than upon any political consideration that he based his hopes. He failed, as he deserved to, and we have elected a man who neither owns nor is owned by any railroad company, who is disinterested and who will not labor to promote the interests of one section of the State to the detriment of the others.

Note—Senator Walker did not have to wait long to find out that he was mistaken. The Legislature of New Mexico proceeded at its ses-

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sion in 1859 to do the very thing which he deemed so improbable and as mere "surplusage." Assuming the legal existence of slavery in that territory, in accordance with the Dred Scott decision, the Legislature proceeded to pass an act "To provide for the protection of property in slaves."

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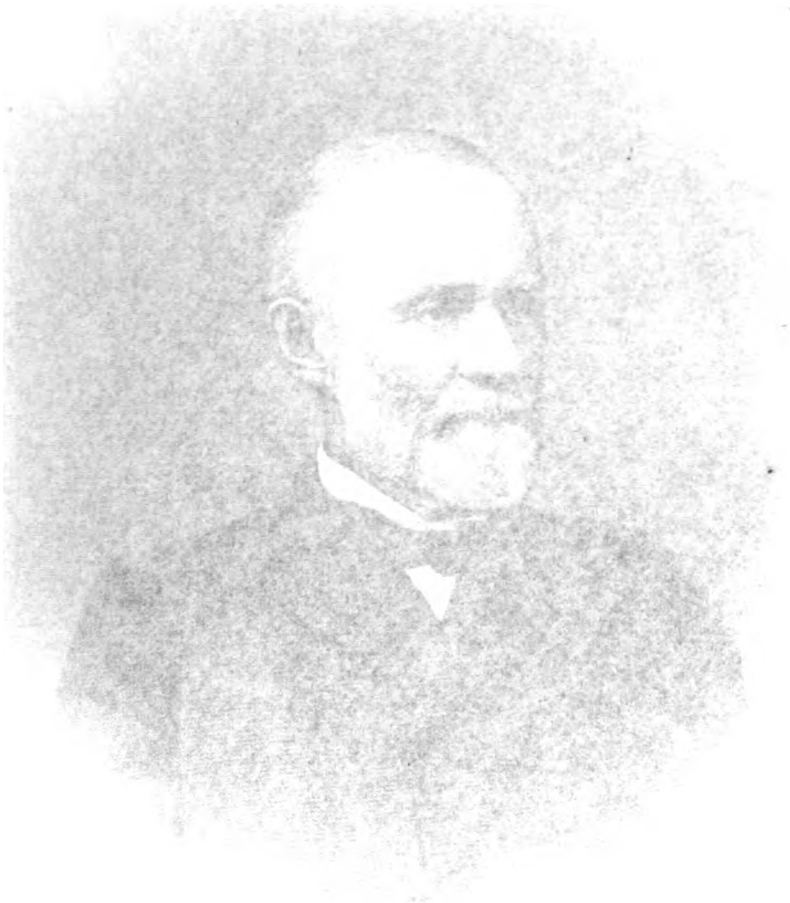

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Yours very Truly
Geo. S. Bragg

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CHAPTER XI.

BARSTOW AND THE BALANCE.

(See Note at end of Chapter.)

During the last year of Barstow's administration there was a widespread suspicion among the people of the State, especially among the Republicans, that there was corruption and malfeasance in office at Madison, and that a general investigation into the management of the offices of the State Treasurer, Secretary of State and the Commissioners of the School and University Lands, would be a benefit to the public. Such a legislative investigation was had the next year, and the special committee's report showed that the suspicion of mismanagement was well grounded, especially as it related to the conduct of the State Treasurer. The committee reported that "almost hopeless confusion was found in the books of the Treasurer and Land Commissioners; that State officers and clerks had been allowed to freely take money out of the treasury in anticipation of their salaries, leaving only memorandum slips in the cash drawer stating the amount withdrawn; that the Treasurer, Edward H. Janssen, was a defaulter to the general fund to the extent of $31,318.54; that the State and University trust funds had been recklessly loaned out on insufficient security to the personal friends of the State officials, and that tens of thousands of these trust funds had been lost and squandered by these officials. The State Treasurer, Janssen, had trusted his assistant to manage the office, and while it was generally believed that he was himself an honest man, his incapacity for such a responsible office is clearly shown in the fact that he did not know what was going on in his own office. His defalcation still stands unsettled.

Janssen, a resident of Ozaukee county, was nominated to please the German element of the Democratic party, which at that time was very strong in the State. It is due to Governor Barstow to state that he was not held to be directly responsible

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for the crookedness that had been going on, except that as the head of the administration he did not exercise that "eternal vigilance" which is not only the price of liberty, but it is the way of keeping officials honest who need watching. If he was not guilty of wrong doing himself, it was thought that he was not ignorant of what was going on.

These scandals did not prevent Barstow from being renominated for Governor at the close of his first term. He had full control of the machine, and the machine was all-powerful. The old régimé, headed by Senator Henry Dodge, had been sent to the rear, and Barstow and his younger clique were in full command of the Democratic forces. He was easily renominated, but his reëlection was opposed by so many conservative Democrats that his success was doubtful from the start. At Barstow's first election the anti-slavery sentiment of the State was not solidly arrayed against him; the Republican party had not then been organized, while the Democratic party was compact and coherent. There were three candidates for Governor in the field—Barstow, the regular Democratic nominee; Edward D. Holton, the people's candidate, representing the Free Soilers, Anti-Nebraska Democrats, Abolitionists and Prohibitionists, and Henry S. Baird, who had been nominated by that remnant of the old Whig party which could not be persuaded that it had been beaten for all time in the defeat of 1852 under Gen. Winfield Scott. The result of the vote in this three-cornered fight was Barstow, 30,405; Holton, 21,286; Baird, 3,304. At his second election all the hostile forces in and out of his own party were mustered against him. The Republicans were thoroughly organized and filled with the zeal and enthusiasm of new converts for what they considered a great moral, social and political question. The campaign was conducted with much spirit, the Republicans making violent attacks upon the extravagant methods pursued by the State officials, and the Janssen defalcation was kept constantly before the people. The result was close; Barstow's majority of 9,000 two years before had almost entirely disappeared in his own case, though his colleagues on the ticket were all ahead of him. The returning board consisted that year of the Attorney-General, George B. Smith; the

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State Treasurer, Edward H. Janssen, and the Secretary of State, Alexander T. Gray, all Democrats, and all strong political and personal friends of William A. Barstow. They counted in the entire Democratic ticket. There was great excitement throughout the State, and charges of corruption and fraud were freely made on both sides. Barstow's majority was declared to be 157, and this majority included some "supplemental" returns, which were irregular and suspected to be fraudulent. Mr. Coles Bashford, the Republican candidate for Governor, at once took steps to contest the election of Barstow, and to bring the matter to the attention of the Supreme Court. It was the first case in the United States where the court of last resort had been asked to go behind the returns, as declared by the State Board of Canvassers, and to pass upon the validity of said returns. It was the first case also in which a candidate for Governor, holding a certificate of election from the officers appointed by law to declare the result, had been ousted after having taken the oath and been duly installed in office. Some of the most noted lawyers in the State were engaged in the trial. Barstow's interests were represented by Jonathan E. Arnold, one of the famous attorneys of the day; Harlow S. Orton, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and Matthew H. Carpenter, afterwards United States Senator. Bashford's side was ably represented by E. G. Ryan, T. O. Howe, A. W. Randall and James H. Knowlton. Such an array of legal talent had never been brought together before to try a case in Wisconsin. Of Bashford's counsel only one was classed as a Democrat, E. G. Ryan; on the other side, all of them were Democrats. Of course there was much partisan feeling and prejudice upon both sides. Although Ryan was a Democrat, he had no personal admiration for Barstow, as he belonged to the other older wing of his party. Besides, he had the faculty of making his client's case his own, and his zeal was not lacking on this occasion. It was Carpenter's first great case in the State, and he entered upon it with all his fine ability. The court consisted of Edward V. Whiton, Chief Justice, one of the purest men who ever sat upon the bench; A. D. Smith, who had already made himself famous by his decision declaring the Fugitive Slave Law uncon-

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stitutional; and Orsamus Cole, who had made his mark as Congressman before being elevated to the Supreme Court. They were all men who have impressed their names ineradicably upon our history. Of all those who were engaged in that historic trial the only survivor is Judge Cole.

When the case was ready for trial Mr. Carpenter moved that it be dismissed for want of jurisdiction, and argued the motion with great skill, the chief point being that the three departments of the State government are equal and coördinate, and independent of each other, and that each department is judge of the election of its own members. Long and able arguments were submitted on both sides, and the court denied the motion and affirmed its jurisdiction. Then followed a fierce battle between the attorneys over legal technicalities lasting four days, when the court declared that it "will go behind the certificate of canvassers, and ascertain, if possible, who was legally elected." Thus the two most important points were gained by the counsel of the claimant, Bashford, who had all along insisted that the count was fraudulent, either by mistake or intent, and that he could prove it if the court would hear the evidence.

As the whole case turned on the legality of certain returns, the character of some of them is fitly described in Reed's "Bench and Bar of Wisconsin," beginning on page 481, to-wit:

"The election having taken place, it was not long in appearing that the Democratic candidates were elected, except the candidate for Governor. As to that office, the vote was close, and the result doubtful. Both parties continued to claim the victory until the day fixed for the canvassing of the returns. That function was vested by the laws of the State in the State Board of Canvassers, consisting of the Secretary of State, A. T. Gray; the State Treasurer, E. H. Janssen, and the Attorney-General, George B. Smith. These officers were warm personal and political friends of Governor Barstow. Having opened and canvassed the returns, they certified that Barstow had received 157 majority, and was duly elected for the ensuing term. Their action excited great indignation. It was stated that having adopted a rule in one case, they had not scrupled to adopt exactly the opposite rule in another case,

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being consistent only to the purpose of finding a majority for Barstow or making one. It was further charged that gross frauds had been perpetrated under the cover of 'supplementary' returns, meaning returns received from sources aliunde, the certificates of the county canvassers. The town of Bridge Creek, in Chippewa county, which had never been heard of before, was found to possess startling electoral capabilities, having cast 128 votes, nearly all for Governor Barstow! A precinct in Waupaca county for which no one had yet performed the office of godfather, and which was designated only as 'Town 25, north of range 10, east of the fourth principal meridian,' developed a voting capacity that could only be accounted for on the theory that the bears had been enfranchised!"

The historian takes up the subject again on page 487, as follows:

"The Supreme Court continued to hear the testimony submitted on behalf of the claimant Bashford. Some of the evidence was of a startling character. There were supplementary returns that were included in the count of the canvassers from Gilbert Mills and Spring Creek, towns in different counties, and over one hundred miles distant from each other. It was observed that the paper on which these returns were written was of the same kind, a peculiar, small white foolscap, much used about the capitol, but rarely seen elsewhere. The more inculpatory circumstance was that the indentions of the two half sheets of paper, upon which these returns were written, upon being put together exactly corresponded, showing that they had been originally joined in one sheet of paper."

This went to show that some of these returns were manufactured in Madison, sent north to be mailed and came back to the State Board as genuine returns and from precincts never heard of before. Having been defeated at all points, and after making a skillful and stubborn defense of a bad cause, Mr. Barstow and his counsel withdrew from the case, protesting against the rulings of the court, which they declared had their inspiration in partisanship, all the members of the court being Republicans, and prejudiced in favor of Bashford. The court proceeded with the inquiry. It found upon a recount that Bashford had 1,009 majority over

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Barstow and declared that he was legally elected Governor of Wisconsin. Meantime Barstow had sent his resignation as Governor to the Legislature, but as his title to the office was declared to be spurious, it is difficult to see what the resignation amounted to. Lieut.-Gov. Arthur McArthur, who imagined he became Governor as soon as Barstow resigned, by virtue of the Constitution, declared his intention to "hold the fort" at all hazards and against all claimants, but the Supreme Court held that as Barstow was not the legally elected Governor, McArthur's status in the matter was determined by his illustrious predecessor, and that he could not become Governor by fraud. After flourishing about for four days and some hours as the residuary legatee of William A. Barstow, McArthur gracefully and peacefully subsided, and Coles Bashford found himself Governor of Wisconsin.

It is a mistake to suppose that William A. Barstow was not a leader of men and that he had not many friends. It is also a mistake to suppose that he was naturally and inherently a bad and corrupt man. The enthusiasm which he inspired among his followers is well expressed in the following editorial paragraph copied from The La Crosse Democrat of March 7, 1854:

"Governor Barstow is a man untainted by the pedantry of the schools, and not having been cursed by inherited wealth, he is preeminently, of all the would-be political leaders in the State, the man of the people, having, by dint of untiring exertion raised himself, regardless of all opposition, from the ranks of the people, to the position he occupies!"

Col. E. A. Calkins, who was then editing a Democratic newspaper in Madison and probably knew as much about the character of the returns as any man now living, made the following statement in regard to that heated controversy. He was at that time a warm supporter of Governor Barstow, and what he says is therefore free from any Republican bias:

"The Democrats in that year (1855), while not exactly cock sure, expected or hoped to elect the Barstow ticket by a good, comfortable majority of several thousand, say from 3,000 to 9,000, the latter having been Barstow's majority in 1853. After election, as the returns came in it was seen that this expectation was wrong

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—that instead of a comfortable majority the result had been close. But nobody (among Democrats I mean) apprehended defeat. Many thought they would squeeze through until the last. But as the Democratic majority diminished and the Republican increased, it became necessary to look in every quarter for votes. When it was seen there would be but a few hundred difference any way, the official returns received at the Secretary of State's office were anxiously examined, and all discrepancies between the reported and the official returns were noted. It was discovered that the official returns from Outagamie and Washington counties contained errors in copying, or rather in adding up the columns, and they were sent back for correction. This was all honest, though declared by the Supreme Court to be unlawful. This was the commencement of the 'supplemental returns.' There were also township returns sent direct to the State Canvassers. Some of these were undoubtedly honest, especially those returns from Menominee Mills and perhaps Hay Creek or Gilberts Mills. Elections were held and the votes were cast as returned. These township returns, sent direct to the State Canvassers, had always been counted. They were counted in the mighty close contest between L. J. Farwell and D. A. J. Upham in 1851, though there were not enough votes of the kind to change the result. A year or two later Wyram Knowlton was elected circuit judge in the Prairie du Chien circuit, his small majority consisting entirely of township returns. I forget the name of his opponent. There were four or five of these township returns in 1855, two being genuine. They were exhibited at the Secretary of State's office as they came in, and no doubt was expressed as to their genuineness. The Waupaca returns were slow in coming in. Owing to a county seat quarrel the entire vote was so large as to be fraudulent on its face. Two returns came, one from Weyauwega, irregular in form, giving Bashford a few hundred majority. It had no county seat and did not come from the county clerk. Following came the Waupaca returns, giving Barstow several hundred majority. It was regular in form, with the signature of the county clerk and the county seal. Later came a 'supplemental return' from the same source of Town 25, Range 10, that had the county seal.

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"There were some other supplemental returns for Bashford, probably fictitious like the Town 25, Range 10, and the two or three irregular township returns for Barstow. . The entire Waupaca vote of both kinds was fraudulent, as there are not as many votes in the county as the alleged Bashford majority in the irregular Weyauwega return or that for Barstow in the regular return with the county seal. This I state from a subsequent thorough study of the case, which I reported at the trial, and by comparison with what I saw and knew as the returns were received from time to time. Until the Waupaca returns came in I do not think anybody suspected fraud. No Democrat did then, except as to the Weyauwega report which gave Bashford a majority. Whatever may have been said or thought of township returns reported direct (which had always been canvassed) it was true that of two reports from a county, one regular with the county seal should be counted to the exclusion of an irregular return without a proper official signature and seal.

"I am sure that I saw all the returns as they came in, calling daily at the Secretary of State's office, with Proudfit, my partner, and we never dreamed of any fraud. We published the whole thing. I am sure that the same was the case with George B. Smith. I often talked with him; not about any fraud, for up to the time of the canvass, or afterward, none was suspected.

"I talked with Gray, the Secretary of State, also, and I am sure that if they knew or suspected any fraud some hint would have escaped, some chuckle or boast that would have given them away. I doubt if Barstow had any knowledge of the frauds, though men were at work for him through the State, hunting up the figures in the various counties, and some of them were men who would not hesitate at any trick that would inure to his advantage. Of course he knew this feature of their characters and had confidence in results. But they probably told him that all returns were genuine, and it was so for his interest to believe them that he did so readily. The fact probably is that nobody about the capitol had anything to do with the frauds, although two of the townships were suspicious, being written on half-sheets, and it was shown that the torn edges of the sheets matched—the two towns being

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far apart. But I do not recollect that the paper was identified as any in use about the capitol.

"The late M. H. Sessions (known as 'Long Sessions'), State Senator after the war, and long prominent in politics before the war, and one W. H. Wells, an editor at Berlin, undoubtedly concocted the Waupaca returns, including Town 25, Range 10. Who concocted the fraudulent Weyauwega Bashford returns I had no suspicions, but I think it was the joint work of anti-Barstow Democrats and local Republicans. Both Sessions and Wells were counted as anti-Barstow and Sessions became an active Republican.

"It was afterwards ascertained who forged the township returns in the northwest, but I forget his name. He was not conspicuous, but was a small lawyer up Sparta way. The mistake of Barstow was in withdrawing from the case and letting it go by default. George B. Smith and William M. Dennis, with others, including myself, advised him to stay in court and try the case on its merits. Judge A. D. Smith told me that if he had managed Barstow's case as a lawyer, he would have prolonged the suit until the term of office had expired and that in the end doubt would have remained as to the actual vote. I do not believe that there was a difference of 100 in the honest votes cast for the two candidates.

"I could say much more, but this more than covers your question. It all amounts to this: That there was no conspiracy in which the State Canvassers were involved. One thing happened after another, and as more votes were needed for Barstow they were found in some way, by corrections of error in the honest returns and by manufactured returns. The same was the way with the Bashford side."

If the respectable Democrats were disappointed in and ashamed of the administration of Barstow, the Republicans had a taste of the same sort of humiliation with the official career of Coles Bashford, the first Governor of the new anti-slavery party. The choice between the two men, as far as integrity and honesty are concerned, might properly be decided by the toss of a copper. Barstow had an insatiable ambition for office and a desire to help his friends; while Bashford's memory is tainted by the act of

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receiving a large amount of La Crosse & Milwaukee railroad corruption bonds as a gratuity from the company. The alleged rascally conduct of "the forty thieves," and the orgies of "Monk's hall," during Barstow's term, were eclipsed at the extra session of the Legislature by the lobby which assembled at the capitol in April, 1856, to dispose of a grant of land given by Congress to aid in the construction of certain lines of railroad in Wisconsin. It was the most scandalous affair that has ever blackened the history of Wisconsin, and the like of it is not likely ever to occur again. The bill conferring the most of the grant upon the La Crosse & Milwaukee company, of which Byron Kilbourn was then the president, was passed by the Legislature and signed by Governor Bashford. The Legislative Investigating Committee afterwards made a voluminous report—by which it appears that thirteen Senators and fifty-nine members of the Assembly were implicated, also the Bank Comptroller, Lieutenant-Governor, private secretary of the Governor, a judge of the Supreme Court, three officers of the Assembly and some twenty-three prominent lobbyists and public men interested in the land grant. Bonds and stock to the par value of $175,000 were given or assigned to the Senators, four of whom received or were assigned the sum of $20,000, and the remainder $10,000 each. In the Assembly bonds and stock were assigned to the value of $355,000; one assignment to the amount of $20,000; eight, $10,000 each, and the remainder $5,000 each. One Senator who voted for the land grant bill in the Senate declined receiving his share, and in the Assembly four members voted for the bill who had no bonds assigned to them, and in the Senate four members voted for the bill but had no bonds. Those who voted against the bill in both houses, to the number of eighteen, were excluded from any participation in the benefits being distributed. The three State officers received $10,000 each and the private secretary of the Governor $5,000. The Governor received $50,000."

The full account of these disreputable proceedings, together with all the testimony in the case, made a volume of 220 pages, called the Black Book, which is now very scarce, as the most of them were gobbled up and burned by those most interested in their

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destruction. It is proper to say that members of both political parties were implicated in the shameful affair, as corruption never has any respect for age, sex or previous condition, and that nearly all of those who accepted the "pecuniary compliments" tendered them by Mr. Kilbourn retired to private life and remained there to the day of their death. If, as appears by the report, a few more Democrats than Republicans were "propitiated" by Mr. Kilbourn, the explanation is to be found in the fact—not that Republicans are more honest than Democrats—but that he was a Democrat himself, and knew more of that kind of people personally than he did of his political opponents. In paying for what they got, Mr. Kilbourn and his colleagues seemed to have used much discretion, and paid each Assemblyman and Senator according to his supposed market value, some influential Senators bringing a much higher premium than their less valuable colleagues. It is noticed that the deal was "for value received," and that no bonds were issued to the legislators who opposed the passage of Mr. Kilbourn's bill. Many of the recipients held on to their bonds until the credit of the company was greatly impaired, and their market value sank to almost nothing. Those who "realized" at once made money, and among them was Governor Bashford and B. F. Hopkins, the Governor's private secretary.

It is said that ten righteous men would have saved Sodom; there were a few men in that Legislature of sterling integrity who were not there for revenue only, and who came out of the lion's den unharmed. One of these was Col. Amasa Cobb, then a Senator from Iowa county. He was Speaker of the Assembly in 1861, and represented the Third district eight years in Congress, from 1863 to 1871. A certain intimate friend of Cobb's, then a clerk in the Assembly, was deputed by the officers of the La Crosse & Milwaukee Railroad Company to "see" Cobb and try to get him to vote for their bill. The clerk aforesaid invited Cobb to take a walk with him in the Capitol park, when it was gently hinted to Cobb that it would be greatly to his pecuniary advantage to vote for the bill; that $10,000 was the sum named for his support, and that the clerk aforesaid had been authorized by Mr. Kil-

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bourn to negotiate the trade. The following is Col. Cobb's answer, under oath, as copied from the Black Book, page 114:

"I asked him what was the amount of the capital of the company. He replied, ten million dollars. I told him to say to Byron Kilbourn that if he would multiply the capital stock of the company by the number of leaves in the Capitol park, and give me that amount in money, and then have Kilbourn, blank and blank blacked, and give me a clean title to them as servants for life, I would take the matter under consideration."

"Another of the 'propitiated' Senators, being asked what he thought of the whole scandalous transaction referred his questioner to Christ's words as recorded in Luke, 13th chapter, 4th verse: 'Of those eighteen (men) upon whom the tower of Siloam fell, and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men who dwelt in Jerusalem? (Madison). I tell you nay!'"

The new Republican party of Wisconsin entered upon the presidential campaign of 1856 with great enthusiasm. Having elected Bashford Governor the first year of the party's existence, and sent Charles Durkee to the United States Senate in 1855, they felt certain that they could carry the State for Fremont and Dayton in 1856. They had also in 1854 elected two of the three congressmen—C. C. Washburn and Charles Billinghurst. Wisconsin was entitled to five votes in the Electoral College, and they nominated Edward D. Holton, James H. Knowlton, Gregor Menzel, Walter D. McIndoe and Billie Williams as presidential electors, all good men and true, and well known to the voters of the State. The majority for Fremont and Dayton was 13,247, and a full delegation of Republicans were elected to Congress, namely, John F. Potter, C. C. Washburn and Charles Billinghurst. Their Democratic opponents were Jackson Hadley, Samuel Crawford and Harrison C. Hobart. The defeated Democratic candidates for Congress were all men of corresponding ability and occupied front seats in the Democratic sanhedrim. Gen. Hobart has been often referred to in these papers; Judge Crawford had been a member of the Supreme Court, and Hadley was one of the leading men of his party in Milwaukee in early times, and had represented the city to great acceptance in the Legislature. At that time Milwau-

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kee city and county usually cast about 4,000 Democratic majority, varying according to the necessities of the situation, and in Hadley's race against Potter for Congress, his friends and neighbors had done their best in rolling up a big majority. His local majority was so large that it was thought to be impossible for the rural districts to overcome it, and tradition has it that he and his friends proceeded to celebrate Mr. Hadley's victory "in due and ancient form," and in accordance with the usual custom of the times. There was an impromptu banquet after the count was made, at which speeches and champagne flowed freely. Imagine the disappointment of Hadley and his political friends the next day when the returns from the back counties came in and showed a tremendous vote for Judge Potter, quite large enough to overcome the big majority for Hadley in Milwaukee and elect Potter.

The election of James R. Doolittle to the Senate of the United States January 23, 1857, was another of the striking political events of that year. Doolittle did not come to the State until 1851, and was looked upon as a newcomer by Holton, Howe, Randall, Jackson and Whiton, who had borne the heat and burden of territorial times, and who had an eager eye on the seat in the Senate soon to be vacated by Henry Dodge. Mr. Doolittle was elected judge of the First Judicial circuit in 1853, which office he resigned in 1856, and his eligibility in consequence of this election caused much controversy. The constitution of Wisconsin provides, section 7, article 10, that "they (the circuit judges) shall hold no office of public trust, except a judicial office, during the term for which they are respectively elected, and all votes for either of them, for any office, except a judicial office given by the Legislature or the people, shall be void." Although he had resigned his office a year before, and was no longer a circuit judge, the strict constructionists insisted that he was ineligible to any other office except a judicial office until the six years had expired for which he had been elected. When the Legislature met in January, 1857, the contest for the senatorship was exceedingly lively and interesting, and the willing candidates were numerous. The opponents of Doolittle made these points against him: (1) That he was ineligible according to the express terms of the constitution; (2) that he resigned his

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circuit judgeship on purpose to be a candidate for United States Senator; (3) that for the same reason he joined the Republican party; (4) that he was not in accord with the Supreme Court of the State upon the Fugitive Slave Act, and (5) that he was a too recent convert from the Democratic party. Doolittle wrote a long letter to the members of the Legislature defining his position on the State rights question, then a hot subject of dispute, and which had rent the Republican party in twain, in which he spun some fine theories upon the subject, and left the question about where he found it. He took good care not to offend either faction, but to mistify, if not please, both. His position was very much like the Maine politician's attitude on the Maine liquor law. He said that he was in favor of the Maine law, but was opposed to its enforcement! Doolittle's chief competitor was Timothy O. Howe, whose opinion of the State rights doctrine of the Supreme Court was not at all obscure. He was decidedly and unequivocally opposed to it from everlasting to everlasting. Of course all such radical sheets as The Janesville Gazette, Kenosha Telegraph, Grant County Herald and Fond du Lac Commonwealth, pitched into Howe unmercifully. Those editors all lived to support Howe with the same zeal that characterized their former opposition. The other dark horses in the race were Holton, J. Allen Barber, M. M. Jackson, Wyman Spooner, and others of less repute. The Republican caucus to nominate a candidate for Senator was held January 21, when Doolittle was nominated on the sixth ballot. The last ballot stood, Doolittle, 41; Howe, 29, and the rest scattering. Whole number of votes cast, 81; necessary to a choice, 41. In the joint convention the vote stood James R. Doolittle, 79; Charles Dunn, 36, and two scattering. At this joint convention the Lieutenant-Governor, Arthur McArthur, presided, and at his side sat Wyman Spooner, the Speaker of the Assembly. When the vote was cast Mr. McArthur immediately pronounced the vote for Doolittle void on account of the constitutional prohibition already noted, and declared that there had been no choice. From this decision an appeal was taken and the ruling of the chair reversed, thus confirming the election of Judge Doolittle. Speaker Spooner also declined to vote for Doolittle or to sign his certificate

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of election, for the same reason that had influenced Mr. McArthur. It is needless to add that Judge Doolittle was readily admitted to his seat in the United States Senate, that body having esablished a precedent in the case of Judge Trumbull of Illinois. The election of Judge Doolittle to one of the most desirable and honorable offices in the gift of the party, so soon after his joining it, gave rise to a clever bon mot by Mortimer M. Jackson, who was himself an aspirant for senatorial honors, who said in disgust: "The Republican party is prompt pay, sir; prompt pay, sir!"

The importance of one vote has been strikingly illustrated in some of the senatorial contests in Wisconsin. For example, Charles Durkee was elected by a majority of one vote in the joint convention. Mr. Doolittle was nonrinated in the Republican caucus by one vote, and twelve years later, in 1869, after Mr. Doolittle had served two terms in the Senate, his successor, Matt. H. Carpenter was nominated in the Republican caucus by a majority of one vote!

Note—One member of the firm of Madison printers and newspaper publishers wrote cheeringly to his absent partner about their prospects of getting the State printing contract. The bids were, under the statute, to be sent in to the Secretary of State, and opened and passed upon by that officer, the State Treasurer and the Attorney-General. The printer, who was a friend of the administration, assured his colleagues that he had made arrangements for inside knowledge of the bidding, adding: "We must get a good bid. * * * * Even if we have to buy up Barstow and the balance"—meaning, by the "balance," the other State officials engaged in the letting. It was among the things unknowable whether the Secretary was or was not rightly judged by the ambitious printer; but the indiscreet letter was found, and promptly published in a rival journal (The Madison Democrat, Oct. 5, 1850), so that ever after that the faction in power was derisively known as "Barstow and the Balance"—a taking catch-phrase for the opposition.—Thwaites' "Story of Wisconsin."

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CHAPTER XII.

MANŒUVERING FOR THE GERMAN VOTE.

The Republican party had a serious set-back in the fall of 1857, when the splendid majority of 13,000 for Fremont in 1856 was cut down to less than 200 for Governor Randall, and the defeat of over half of the candidates for State officers on the ticket with him. Randall canvassed the State in his own behalf, while his Democratic competitor, James B. Cross, made no effort to secure votes by stump speaking. Cross settled in Milwaukee in 1841; he had no success at the bar but he made some headway as a candidate for office. He was elected a justice of the peace in 1846, and judge of probate for Milwaukee County in 1848. He served three terms in the State Legislature with credit to himself, and was City Attorney for Milwaukee in 1850. He was only 454 votes behind A. W. Randall in the race for Governor in the fall of 1857. "He had a fine personal appearance," says one of his admirers, "and possessed many elements of popularity, and was fitted to adorn with grace and credit any position in life."

At the conclusion of Governor Bashford's term nobody expected and few desired that he would be renominated, and if he wished for a second term, he had no expectation of getting it, after all that had happened to his discredit.

And yet Mr. Bashford was not entirely destitute of friends. He had asked the Legislature to make an investigation into the charges of corruption which had been made against him in the newspapers in the railroad land grant affair, and he declared that he stood ready to purge himself of each and every charge made against him. Accordingly, a committee of five was appointed by the Legislature, which reported in due season that they had made the investigation touching the disposition of said land grant and of the charges brought against Governor Bashford, "and that

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they were unanimously of the opinion that the evidence shows that the fifty bonds (of $1,000 each) referred to in the report * * * were received by Governor Bashford, as a gratuity, from the La Crosse Company after the grant had been disposed of and without any previous understanding that he was to receive the same; but the committee strongly disapproved of the acceptance of the said gratuity!"

When the Republican State Convention met to nominate a successor to Bashford he had 9 votes for renomination, and the following complimentary resolution, introduced by Sherman M. Booth, was passed unanimously:

"Resolved, That the warmest thanks of the Republican party of Wisconsin are due to Gov. Coles Bashford for the zeal, energy, ability and perseverance with which he prosecuted, to a successful issue, before the Supreme Court of this State, his claim, as the legally elected Governor of Wisconsin; that by this he upheld justice, law, and the constitution, and vindicated the rights of the people; that we honor him for his administration of the State government; that wherever justice triumphs over fraud, and the rights of the people and the purity of the ballot box are held to be sacred, the name of Coles Bashford will be held in grateful and affectionate remembrance and respect."

Governor Bashford removed to Arizona in 1863, where the next year he was elected to the territorial council and president of that body. He was also elected attorney general of the territory, and later a delegate to Congress. He died April 25, 1878, aged 63.

As to Bashford's successor there had been much discussion in the newspapers during the summer, and public sentiment seemed to be about evenly divided between two prominent gentlemen, with their own hearty approval and co-operation, as suitable persons to head the Republican ticket. These candidates were Edward D. Holton of Milwaukee and Walter D. McIndoe of Wausau. They were both in the prime of life, both active Republicans in good standing, both men of considerable means, and both noted for commendable generosity and public spirit. Here the similarity ended. Holton was a refined and polished gentleman, a public speaker of

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no mean pretensions, well educated and prepossessing in his manners and personal appearance, a zealous Abolitionist, and a still more zealous Congregationalist, of New England origin, and had brought to the West with him many of the inflexible Puritanic habits characteristic of the intelligent and conscientious Yankee.

He had been identified with the anti-slavery movement from the start, had been a candidate for Congress on that ticket, and was the candidate for Governor against Barstow in 1853. He had always taken an active part in the temperance cause, and was well known to the people of the State. He was a man well qualified to fill with credit any office to which the partiality of his fellow citizens might call him, and a gentleman who showed to good advantage in any public assemblage. He had traveled much and had made the most of his superior advantages.

McIndoe was a man of coarser grain, of inferior mental endowment, as compared with his competitor, brought up in a different environment, was neither a church member nor a moralist, and was much more liberal in his views of life, duty, responsibility and conduct than Mr. Holton. He had acquired a handsome fortune in the lumbering business, and had spent many years in the northern portion of the State, surrounded by all the primitive conditions peculiar to frontier life. Still he was far above the level of his surroundings. He was of Scotch birth and had received an excellent commercial education. He was a solid practical man of affairs, had read much and was a genial, companionable gentleman, distinguished by natural kindness and affability, which made him popular with all who knew him. Like Mr. Holton, he had been reared in the old Whig party, but when it was dissolved in 1852, he readily joined the Republican party and took a leading part in its affairs. He had an immense following in the northern portion of the State. His case in the convention was managed by Timothy O. Howe. He and Holton were both active candidates. It was generally supposed that one or the other would carry off the prize. In the convention the vote was about evenly divided between them, the informal ballot standing, Holton, 70; McIndoe, 56; Randall, 24; Coles Bashford, 9, and the rest scattering. The first formal ballot stood: Holton, 68; McIndoe, 57; Randall, 40.

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On the seventh ballot Randall was nominated, both Holton and McIndoe having been withdrawn, the vote standing, Randall, 99; J. W. Boyd, 45; H. C. Bull, 11; J. P. McGregor, 16; L. P. Harvey, 6; J. H. Knowlton, 6; scattering, 5. Necessary to a choice, 95.

At first Randall was not considered in the race. He had, however, acquired considerable of a reputation as a stump orator, had filled out an unexpired term as circuit judge, and had won some renown as a counsel in the celebrated case of Bashford vs. Barstow in the famous contest for the gubernatorial office. He entered the convention with only the Waukesha delegation at his back, and a few scattering votes from other parts of the State. He had one advantage. While his two popular opponents, Holton and McIndoe, had come into the new party from the Whigs, Randall had been brought up in the school of Democracy and it was thought his nomination would draw heavily from that side. The balloting continued for many hours, the race for the nomination between McIndoe and Holton being neck and neck, but Randall's little handful of delegates stood as firmly by him as did the famous 306 stand by General Grant in the National Republican Convention of 1880. Randall held the balance of power from the start, and he could have nominated either of the other candidates if he had chosen to do so. Thus it went on without a choice until the delegates got tired and they also got cross, while the Randall men kept good-natured with both sides; but never failed to vote for their favorite. Finally the Holton and McIndoe forces began to disintegrate, Randall getting all the straggling votes, until he secured a majority and was declared to be the choice of the convention. Randall's running mate for Lieutenant-Governor was Carl Schurz, who was then a resident of Watertown, and who there made his first appearance in this country as a public man. The ticket then and there nominated was only partially successful, the three lucky candidates being Randall for Governor, S. D. Hastings for State Treasurer and E. M. McGraw for State Prison Commissioner.

I have said that Carl Schurz made his first appearance in this country as a public man, at the Republican State Convention in

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Madison in the fall of 1857. The delegates who composed that convention are nearly all dead now, and so are the gentlemen who were nominated on the Republican ticket that year, except Mr. Schurz, who was nominated for Lieutenant-Governor and defeated, and the venerable Samuel D. Hastings, who was elected State Treasurer. Mr. Schurz had only recently arrived in this country, and was then a resident of Watertown in this State. That locality at that time was overwhelmingly Democratic, and it was an easy matter for any one to get appointed as a delegate to represent the handful of Republicans who made their abode there. Very few personally knew Mr. Schurz, while the great majority had never heard his name before. He was a stranger in a strange land. If he had not been nominated for Lieutenant-Governor at that time and given an opportunity to stump the State in defense of Republican principles, and thus come into prominence where his superior natural and acquired accomplishments could be appreciated, it is easy to conjecture what might have been. Great men often owe their popularity and success to accident; at least in order to succeed one must have opportunity. When Ulysses S. Grant was tanning hides at Galena, none of his associates imagined he would become one of the most famous soldiers of modern times, and the president of one of the greatest nations on earth.

The circumstances under which the Republican State Convention of 1857 met were peculiar. Up to that date the German Americans in Wisconsin took little stock in the Republican party. In fact, they were, for the most part, very strongly prejudiced against it. They judged it by the character of its leading advocates and supporters, rather than by its principles. Mr. Holton, for example, had been a candidate of the extreme temperance men for office, and the Germans looked upon that movement as an assault upon personal liberty and they would have none of it. That was before the war, and an anti-slavery man in those days was regarded with suspicion, so that when the leading men in a party stood for both abolition and prohibition they were not popular with the class referred to. To enlist the Germans in support of the Republican party was early seen to be a prime necessity in order to insure success, and one or more places on the State ticket must

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be assigned to that nationality. After Randall was nominated it was deemed to be imperative that a German should be nominated for second place, but who should it be? That was the question. All the more prominent leading influential Germans had already joined the Democratic party, which had with rare wisdom and sound partisan policy given some of them good places at the public crib, and the Good Book asks a question that any fool would answer in the negative—"Doth the ox low that hath fodder?" Several nominations of Germans were made in the convention for Lieutenant-Governor, but none of them was well received. At length Sherman M. Booth took the floor and made a thrilling speech in favor of Carl Schurz. He gave some account of his antecedents, how as a student at the German university he had been mixed up with the rebellion of 1848 and had to flee his country in order to save his neck. As Booth and his State rights disciples—the writer among the rest—had sustained a mild form of revolution in supporting our Supreme Court in defying and nullifying an act of Congress, and all of us had repudiated a decision of the United States Supreme Court, the idea of Schurz being a revolutionist rather pleased us, and we thought if he was a red Republican, and we had all been stigmatized as black Republicans, he would answer our purpose very well! Others followed Booth, and Schurz was soon nominated for Lieutenant-Governor. Only a few had seen Schurz up to this time, but when he had been nominated and there was a call for him he came reluctantly forward and took the platform to return his thanks for the honor conferred. As he advanced the impression was not favorable. His tall, lank form and long legs were heightened by his dress, which was seedy, threadbare and ill-fitting. His coat sleeves and his trousers' legs were much too short, and his Emersonian nose, adorned with the ever-present gold-bowed spectacles, gave him a novel and picturesque appearance. A delegate sitting next to me whispered in my ear: "I guess we have done it now for certain"—meaning, of course, that we had nominated the wrong man. But first impressions are often misleading, and they were in this case. He had spoken but a few words before he had the attention of the convention riveted upon himself. If the delegates were astonished

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at his uncouth appearance, they were amazed at his eloquence and the charm and power of his masterly oratory. When he left the platform he also left the impression upon the mind of every one present that a man of splendid intellectual abilities had appeared among them, challenging their criticism and winning their admiration. This was the beginning of the political career of Carl Schurz, and it was the first step toward drawing a large class of his fellow Germans into the Republican party without whose support the party would have forever remained in the minority in Wisconsin. I do not think I give General Schurz too much credit when I say he made a thorough canvass of the State, and although he was beaten at the polls by a few hundred majority, he made converts to the Republican cause wherever he spoke, and thousands of his nativity were converted to the true politcal faith by his eloquent speech, and flocked to our standard.

Two years later he was a candidate for the nomination for Governor himself, against Governor Randall, much to Randall's disgust, and he went into the convention with considerable of a following. A feeling of rivalry had sprung up between him and Governor Randall, which was also slightly tinged with animosity, and the State Convention in 1859 that had to decide between them was a stormy one. Mr. Schurz was offered the nomination again for Lieutenant Governor, but as he had made the race once and been beaten, and as he had now attracted national attention to himself by his eloquent advocacy of Republican principles, he peremptorily declined the honor. He came to this city and opened a law office in company with Gen. Halbert E. Paine, but before they got settled down to practice law the civil war broke out and they closed up their law office and went into the military service of their country. Both won distinction in the Union army. After Appomattox, General Paine represented the Milwaukee district in Congress for two terms, defeating James S. Brown in the first race and Alexander Mitchell the second time. General Schurz settled in St. Louis after the war, and as brains were always in great demand in Missouri, he soon got elected to the Senate of the United States from that State. It is needless to say that his career in the Senate was creditable to him in the highest degree,

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although he felt it to be his duty at times to assail the policy of the party with which he at first won distinction and which first brought him into public notice. He did not wander far enough from the fold of Republicanism, however, to prevent President Hayes from giving General Schurz a seat in his cabinet, he being the first German-American who has ever been elevated to a similar position. He was as efficient in councils of the cabinet as he had proved himself to be in every other public position with which he had been intrusted.

General Schurz formally withdrew from the Republican party in 1884, when James G. Blaine was nominated for the presidency, and he stoutly supported Mr. Cleveland in all his campaigns. He gave his services to the cause of sound money during the last campaign, and the speech he delivered in Chicago on financial subjects was one of the ablest, clearest, most exhaustive, most complete and satisfactory that was uttered by any man anywhere during the exciting and important contest. The masterly address will forever remain a classic on the money question.

While General Schurz remained in this State he was greatly aided in getting to the front and staying there by Horace Rublee, who was his faithful, steadfast friend from first to last. No one knows better than Carl Schurz how a public man is helped to climb the ladder of fame by the constant support, counsel and advice of a wise and discreet editor of a widely circulated and reliable daily paper. During their warm and intimate friendship which lasted over forty years, they never disagreed upon any public question of vital importance but once, and that was upon the subject of State rights, after our Supreme Court had nullified the Fugitive Slave Law, in the Booth case, the opinion of Chief Justice Taney to the contrary notwithstanding. General Schurz took sides with Sherman M. Booth, James H. Paine, Byron Paine, Judge A. D. Smith, et al., while Mr. Rublee stood firmly with Timothy O. Howe, and contended for the supreme federal authority in construing the acts of Congress. Schurz saw his mistake also, afterwards, and abandoned his untenable position; but it was not until his pathway had been illuminated by the fierce glare of the rebels' cannon as they shot down the national flag that waved over Fort Sumter.

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE STORMY TIME BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR.

The Ship of State under the command of Capt. Alexander W. Randall encountered some rough weather during her first voyage of two years' duration, the Governor disagreeing with the Republican majority in the Senate about the confirmation of a gentleman whom Randall had nominated for State Auditor. The Senate refused to confirm the appointee, whereupon the Governor got into an unseemly rage and made a threat that he would resign if the Senate did not give in. It did not give in, nor did the Governor resign. When the Republican State Convention met in the fall of 1859 to nominate State officers, there was serious opposition to the renomination of Governor Randall. A strong feeling of jealousy, if not positive dislike, had sprung up between Carl Schurz and the Governor, growing out of a suspicion on the part of Schurz that Randall did not set forth his qualifications for the office of Lieutenant-Governor in his campaign speeches, as Schurz thought he might have done, and Randall entertained the belief that if Schurz had stayed in the State and looked after his own fences the whole Republican ticket might have been elected.

Mr. Schurz felt very sore over his defeat and allying himself with the disaffected portion of the Republican party he went industriously about getting support for the nomination for Governor himself in opposition to Randall. When the convention assembled the circumstances that surrounded it were not favorable to promote harmony and brotherly love in the Republican camp. Schurz had a very respectable following, especially among his German-American fellow citizens, with whom he was always a great favorite, and the late John P. McGregor was also in the field, backed by many resolute friends. Randall thought he was

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entitled to a renomination at the hands of the convention, and the opposition that was developed made him exceedingly angry. Gen. James H. Paine of Milwaukee, who never liked Randall, was a vigorous supporter of Mr. Schurz, and he led the Schurz forces on the floor of the convention with signal ability. The contest was a hot one, and when Randall was finally renominated he was in a very bad humor. In this frame of mind he appeared before the convention with the committee sent out to inform him of his nomination, and he made about the hottest speech ever listened to on a similar occasion. It was anything else than a speech of thanks for the honor conferred. He roundly abused the delegates who had opposed him, and the opinion was general, and openly expressed, even by those who had supported him, that if he had made it before his nomination, the nomination never would have been made at all. He pretended that he could not remember the names of all of his opponents, so obscure and unknown were they, and he alluded to Mr. McGregor, one of the prominent candidates for the nomination, as "the man from Portage city."

The Democratic candidate for Governor that year against Randall was Gen. Harrison C. Hobart, the representative of the younger men of his party, and a gentleman who had already taken an active part in the direction of its affairs. He had made an unsuccessful race for Congress against James Duane Doty in 1850, ran again in 1856 against Charles Billinghurst, and he had been a member of the State Senate and Speaker of the Assembly. At that time he was quite as well known to the people of the State as Randall. The two Central Committees soon arranged for joint debates between the heads of the tickets "on the political issues of the day," to be held at the principal cities of the State. Personally, the two intellectual gladiators were very evenly matched, both having had much experience in public affairs, and both being ready and logical debaters. General Hobart was heavily handicapped by the misdeeds of "Barstow and the Balance," the heavy defalcation of Edward H. Janssen, the last Democratic State Treasurer, and Barstow's unsuccessful contest for Governor. Added to this was the rising tide of anti-slavery

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sentiment among the people of the North, and the settled conviction that the national Democratic party was under the dictation and control of the slave oligarchy. Hobart himself had always been an anti-slavery man at heart and had quarreled with Senator Isaac P. Walker because he did not obey the instructions of the Legislature and vote for the Wilmot proviso prohibiting slavery in the territories. In the joint debate at Horicon, Randall pressed Hobart so hard on the subject of the misdeeds of the last Democratic State adminstration that the latter repudiated the whole business and refused to defend or apologize for any of Barstow's crookedness. Matters got so hot between the two disputants that the joint debates ended then and there, and each candidate held his own meetings after that date. As General Hobart had not only declined to have his party held responsible for Barstow's official mistakes, but had said some uncomplimentary things himself of Barstow's administration, the ex-Governor and his ex-Secretary of State, Alexander T. Gray, came out in a card publicly denouncing General Hobart's course, and refusing to give him their support.

Probably this unpleasantness with the Democratic party helped Randall and his colleagues on the ticket, as the campaign resulted in the election of all of them by a majority of nearly 4,000, the first time the Republicans filled all the State offices since the party was organized. The newly-elected State officers were all picked men in the State. Randall began his political career in territorial times, and was never placed in an official position where he did not show to good advantage. His conduct in the executive office during the exciting and trying times of the first years of the rebellion stamped him as a statesman and a patriot. Carl Schurz had been offered the nomination for Lieutenant-Governor in the convention, but he rejected it with scorn. Butler G. Noble was then nominated—a good man and an excellent stump orator. Louis P. Harvey, the Secretary of State, was elected Governor two years later. Samuel D. Hastings, the Treasurer, was one of the best men who ever filled that or any other public office, as his eight years' occupancy of it proved. James H. Howe, the Attorney General, was a nephew of Senator Timothy O. Howe,

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and was afterwards appointed federal judge of Wisconsin in place of Judge A. G. Miller. J. F. Pickard, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, was a conspicuous educator, and afterwards was superintendent of schools in the city of Chicago. Hans C. Heg, the State Prison Commissioner, was a splendid representative of our Scandinavian population. He went to the front and laid down his life for his adopted country.

Abraham Lincoln made his first and last visit to Milwaukee, and his second visit to Wisconsin, in the fall of 1859. His first visit to Wisconsin he had made while serving as a volunteer soldier during the Black Hawk War. He came to Milwaukee upon the invitation of the officers of the State Agricultural Society, which held its State Fair in this city in that year. Mr. Lincoln had been selected as a drawing card to deliver the annual address. Not that "Honest Old Abe" knew or was supposed to know anything about farming, but he had become conspicuous by reason of the great debate on the slavery question which he had held with Stephen A. Douglas the year before, who was then a Senator from the State of Illinois, and an avowed candidate for the nomination of President on the Democratic ticket. When the senatorial term of Mr. Douglas was about to expire, the Republicans of Illinois held a State Convention and put forward Mr. Lincoln as their champion against him, and by mutual agreement they stumped the State together, attracting immense audiences wherever they went, composed of the adherents of both parties. Altogether it was one of the most remarkable political debates ever held in this country. The question of admitting slavery into the new and unoccupied Territories of the United States overshadowed all others for the time being, and this was the subject of discussion between these two noted and clever men. Mr. Douglas had seemingly entered the contest with the chances of success largely in his favor, both from a personal and political standpoint. He had been for twelve years an active and recognized leader of the Democratic party in the Senate of the United States, and had been conspicuous at the bar and upon the bench before he entered the more trying arena of national politics. He was ambitious to be President of the United States, and had been called by Horace

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Greeley, the editor of The New York Tribune, "the ablest tit-for-tat debater in the upper house of Congress."

This was the accomplished controversialist and trained statesman that Mr. Lincoln was expected to meet in a joint discussion of the most exciting and perplexing problem that had ever been brought to the attention of the American people since the Revolutionary War ended at Yorktown. He had had but little experience in public life, had served one term in Congress, and was known as a country lawyer with a small practice in the lower courts. In early life he had been very poor, and had spent some time in running flatboats and splitting rails. His education was scant, and he had never seen the inside of a college or university in his life except as a visitor. Whatever he was, he was in nowise indebted to the schoolmaster for it. How well he held his own against Mr. Douglas is a matter of history. The only advantage Mr. Lincoln had over his wily opponent was that he was on the right side.

The result of that most remarkable contest was that while Mr. Douglas secured the election of enough members of the Illinois Senate and Assembly to get reëlected to the United States Senate, Mr. Lincoln beat him on the popular vote in the State by 3,568 votes—the vote standing, for Lincoln, 124,698; for Douglas, 121,-130. It is proper to state that the influence of President Buchanan was thrown against Mr. Douglas in that contest, whose prospective return to the Senate was not pleasing to that fossilized Pennsylvanian.

I do not remember who was the President of the State Agricultural Society at that time, but I know that the two most active and influential members of the organization were John W. Hoyt, the Secretary, and David Atwood, the Treasurer. Neither of these gentlemen was a practical farmer, nor had either ever been such. Hoyt had been a professor at one time in the State University in the incipiency of that institution, and later on became somewhat of a politician, winding up his political career by serving one term as Governor of the then Territory of Wyoming. General Atwood was senior editor of The Madison Journal for many years, with Horace Rublee as his assistant, and it was Hoyt

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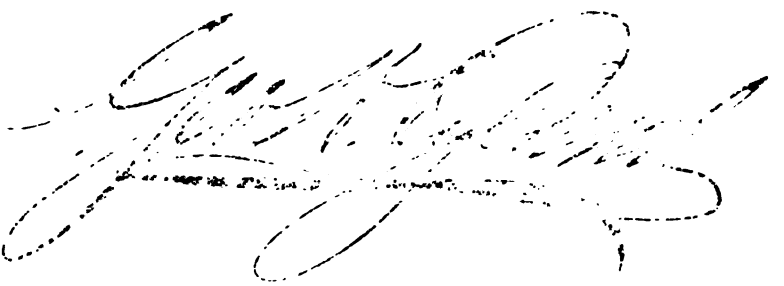

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and Atwood who induced Mr. Lincoln to come and make a speech to the farmers. On that occasion, the fair was held at the Cold Spring race course, and as that was before the days of horse railroads, the old methods of travel had to be resorted to by the crowd in getting there, and people on foot, in omnibuses, in wagons and carriages, lined the road leading from the city to what was then considered an out-of-the-way place for locating such an exhibition. Mr. Lincoln did not prove to be much of an attraction on that occasion. His fame came later on with the presidency, the great rebellion and the emancipation proclamation. He was then simply "Old Abe," an Illinois lawyer, given to telling good stories, and the man who had worsted "the little giant" in a great debate. He was not then looked upon by many of the people of Wisconsin as even a probable candidate for the presidency. It is not to be wondered at that his address, which was delivered in the afternoon, and two or three miles from the then principal business and residence portions of the city, should not attract a large audience. The address itself was such a one as Mr. Lincoln might be expected to deliver under the circumstances. He must have felt conscious that his appearance here was something in the nature of a show, for he was not a practical farmer, and he knew that he could not talk to agriculturalists to their profit any more than one of them could expound the law to him. However, he made the best of it and talked from observation and theory rather than from practical knowledge and experience, and in that sense he talked exceedingly well, as he always did on any subject.

Mr. Lincoln remained over night in Milwaukee after delivering his address, a guest at the Newhall House, which was at that time the only first-class hotel in the city. Why he did not return to Chicago that same evening no one knows, but most likely it was for the reason that no night train was run on the single line of railroad that then connected us with the great town at the head of Lake Michigan. After supper many of the prominent citizens of Milwaukee called at the hotel to pay their respects to Mr. Lincoln, and there were also stopping there some of the notable men from different parts of the State who were in attendance on the fair. It is also true that some of Milwaukee's 400 did not con-

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sider Mr. Lincoln of importance enough to justify them in the condescension required of them to seek an introduction to him.

It was not long after tea when the rotunda of the Newhall House was well filled, and Mr. Lincoln was busy shaking hands and making pleasant remarks to the gentlemen who were introduced to him. At length some one suggested that it was a great oversight that the presence of so distinguished an advocate of the anti-slavery cause as Mr. Lincoln had not been taken advantage of so that he might have delivered an address upon that all-absorbing topic. After a number of gentlemen had expressed their regret that a public meeting had not been called and advertised, Mr. Lincoln was asked if he would not give them a little talk then and there, to which the "rail splitter" facetiously replied that there was no platform to stand upon, meaning that a speaker ought to be elevated above his auditors, who were all standing; and secondly, that there was nothing to talk about. The first objection was soon overcome by some one going out and soon returning with an empty dry goods box for Mr. Lincoln to stand upon. Who did this timely service for the crowd I do not now remember, for memory is not infallible after the lapse of nearly forty years, but I think Peter Van Vechten had a hand in it. It would have been just like the man who tolled the bell in the fire engine house when old John Brown was hung a year later at Harper's Ferry. The platform being thus speedily provided, Mr. Lincoln reluctantly stepped upon it and proceeded to deliver an address upon the one burning issue of the hour—slavery. It was the absorbing question everywhere. All the churches had been rent in twain by it. The Supreme Court of the United States had declared that a negro had no rights a white man was bound to respect. The Missouri compromise line had been repealed and the slaveholders declared that under the Constitution they had the right to carry their slaves into territory then free. The Fugitive Slave Act, which outraged the moral sense of the North, had been passed and enforced. Charles Sumner had been beaten almost to death with a bludgeon in his seat in the Senate for making a speech upon the "barbarism of slavery." Abolitionists had been mobbed in Boston, and Lovejoy had been murdered in Alton. The territory

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dedicated to freedom by the Ordinance of 1787 was being taken possession of by slaveholders. Slavery had ruined the old Whig party, and it had disrupted and disorganized the Democratic party. The Southern sky was already aglow with the flames of civil war. Who could talk or think of anything else?

Mr. Lincoln spoke calmly for three-quarters of an hour upon this tremendous issue that was soon to be the cause of the most bloody and expensive civil war in modern history, little thinking as he spoke that he was to be the leading man in that great historical drama, or that the drama would finally end in tragedy with himself as the victim of the assassin's bullet! I see him now, as he stood there under the gaslight upon his improvised rostrum, his tall, gaunt form trembling with suppressed emotion as he depicted the dangers to the country which he felt to be imminent, and the look of inexpressible sadness that at times overspread his swarthy, homely features, no one will ever forget. I never saw that benignant countenance again until I looked upon it in the casket, as the remains lay in state in Chicago, when the body of the Great Emancipator was being taken back to Springfield, after J. Wilkes Booth had fired the fatal shot "that was heard around the world."

The daily papers of that day were not as enterprising as they are now, and no report was made of that notable speech delivered by the most remarkable, if not the greatest man who has yet appeared in our history except George Washington. Certainly he was the most picturesque character that our free institutions have yet produced, and his superb qualities of head and heart will be magnified more and more as the years pass on. Joseph Medill, the accomplished editor of The Chicago Tribune, tells how on one occasion in his earlier newspaper experience, he went to Springfield to report Mr. Lincoln's speech before a State Convention for his paper, and that he became so enamored of him and so much engrossed in his address that he forgot his mission entirely, and made no notes. Perhaps if some stenographer had been present on the occasion I am trying to describe, he would have lost his head and made no record for the use of the future historian. I only remember that Mr. Lincoln followed closely along the same

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line of argument that he pursued in some of his speeches in his great debate with Judge Douglas, though, of course, it was more of a summary than an elaboration. Mr. Douglas had invented the very taking phrase of "squatter sovereignty," by which he meant that the squatters in any new territory had the alienable right to establish slavery, if they so desired, and this the border ruffians from Missouri were then trying to do in "bleeding Kansas." It was a sort of declaration in favor of home rule or self-government that met with the approval of many ignorant people who were incapable of seeing the fatal result of a bad policy. Mr. Lincoln exposed the fallacy of this by simply saying that "if one man sought to deprive another man of his liberty, no third person had any right to say anything about it!" I remember that he closed his remarks with the famous declaration which he made at Springfield in June, 1858, in his opening speech in the notable discussion with Mr. Douglas, when he enunciated the startling doctrine that "the Federal Union could not permanently endure half slave and half free." I copy this remarkable prophecy from a report of Mr. Lincoln's Springfield speech made at the time. He said:

"If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now in the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot permanently endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will come all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind will rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new—North as well as South!"

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[illegible] of his speeches in his [illegible] it was more [illegible] Douglas had invented the [illegible] by which he meant [illegible] the alienable right to [illegible] the Border ruffians [illegible] "bleeding Kansas." It [illegible] rule or self-govern- [illegible] many ignorant people who [illegible] result of a [illegible] Mr [illegible] by simply saying that "if one [illegible] his Ebony, no third person [illegible] it." I remember that he [illegible] declaration which he made [illegible] speech in the notable [illegible] startling [illegible] not perpetually endure [illegible] sphecy from a [illegible] the time. He

[illegible] whither we are [illegible] better judge where [illegible] how to do it. We are now in the fifth year since [illegible] was initiated with the avowed object and confident prediction of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the [illegible] that agitation has [illegible] but [illegible] perpetually agitated. In my open- [illegible] case [illegible] is, "I have been reached and [illegible] 'house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe [illegible] half slave and half [illegible] to be disso[illegible] I do not expect [illegible] expect the house to be divided. [illegible] all the other. Either the opponents [illegible] spread it [illegible] and place it where [illegible] in the course of [illegible] it forward till it shall [illegible] as new—North

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The scene was intensely dramatic, and after the lapse of nearly forty years, the picture in my memory, though somewhat dimmed by the dust of time, is still so well preserved that it can never be effaced. There stood the man of destiny as unconscious of his own great future as any of his auditors, and around him were grouped many of the prominent men of the city whose serious faces reflected the solemn utterances of the inspired seer or prophet who had given voice to their own convictions. All felt that coming events were casting shadows before, and that we were on the verge of civil war! Many of those present deeply pondered upon Mr. Lincoln's solemn prediction as they walked homeward that drizzly November night. "I do not believe that this Union can permanently endure, half slave and half free." Nearly all those who heard the great man on that occasion have passed away. Among them were Asahel Finch, Sherman M. Booth, E. B. Wolcott, Alexander Mitchell, W. H. Metcalf, Mr. Strickland, George Dyer, General James H. Paine, Byron Paine, C. L. Sholes, W. W. Coleman, Harrison Ludington, Daniel Newhall, David Atwood, Cicero Comstock, Jackson Hadley, Rufus King, Hans Crocker, J. A. Noonan, E. H. Goodrich, S. S. Merrill, J. A. Bryden, A. J. Aikens, P. Van Vechten, J. J. Orton, Ed. Sanderson, William A. Prentiss, A. L. Kane, Halbert E. Paine, John Plankinton, T. A. Chapman, E. D. Holton, Rev. C. A. Staples, John R. Sharpstein, John H. Tweedy, Arthur McArthur and E. H. Brodhead. What a fine opportunity for some local Carl Marr to make himself famous by painting a picture of the scene so imperfectly described above, that would forever link the immortal name of Abraham Lincoln with the proud city of Milwaukee!

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CHAPTER XIV.

THE POLITICS OF THE WAR TIME.

The first year of Randall's second term, 1860, was attended with the usual excitement incident to a presidential campaign. The aggressions of the slave power had thoroughly aroused the freedom-loving spirit of the North, and the Republicans of Wisconsin determined to cast the electoral vote of the State for Lincoln and Hamlin—as it had been cast for Fremont four years before. There was unusual interest everywhere manifested on both sides. All the speaking talent among Democrats and Republicans was called into requisition, and the canvass was very thorough. In November the vote stood, Lincoln, 86,110; Douglas, 65,021; Breckenridge, 881, and Bell, 161. Lincoln's majority over Douglas was over 20,000. For the second time in the history of the State all the Republican candidates for Congress were elected, namely, John F. Potter, Luther Hanchett, and A. Scott Sloan. Potter had already served two terms in Congress and had attracted wide attention by offering to fight a duel with Roger A. Pryor with bowie-knives. Hanchett and Sloan were new faces in Washington, but both had made their mark in State politics. The defeated candidates were J. E. Arnold, J. D. Reymert and Charles H. Larrabee.

Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President March 4, 1861, and Fort Sumter was fired upon April 12 of that year.

This overt act on the part of the rebels began the most expensive and destructive civil war of modern times, and a call for troops was made by the President on the 16th of April. Thirty-six companies tendered their services to Governor Randall in one week, and during the last year of his administration he placed sixteen regiments of infantry in the field. During the next four years the people of Wisconsin did not bend all their energies to

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help the administration to put down the Rebellion, but gave some attention to politics. Party organizations and party discipline were kept up, political conventions were held as usual, and the policy of the administration in conducting the war was fiercely discussed.

The choice for United States Senator that year took place on the 23d of January, and fell upon Timothy O. Howe, who succeeded Charles Durkee. His Republican competitors were Governor Randall and Cadwallader C. Washburn. The Democrats cast their votes for Henry L. Palmer. Judge Howe had been a candidate for the Senate against James R. Doolittle four years before, and would undoubtedly have been elected then if it had not been that he was opposed to the State rights doctrine that had been enunciated by the Supreme Court in the Booth case. Now that the blaze of civil war had illuminated that theory of State sovereignty so that "he who runs might read"—if he was not running away from the draft—Judge Howe's position was better understood and he became more popular, so popular in fact that Wisconsin kept him in the Senate for eighteen years. He was the close personal friend and adviser of Abraham Lincoln all through the critical period of the Civil War, and made the name of Wisconsin respected in Washington by his ability, high moral character, patriotism and devotion to the good of the whole people. His loyalty to the Republican party was often put to the test and never found wanting. While he was in the Senate he was offered a position on the Supreme bench of the United States, a place that he had always coveted, but if he had accepted it at that time, a Democrat would have succeeded him, and he declined the tempting offer. He was appointed Postmaster-General by President Arthur. He died suddenly at Racine March 25, 1883, while a member of the cabinet.

Judge Howe was in some respects a peculiar man. He was not popular with common people, and nobody ever called him "a good fellow." Many thought him a cold-blooded man with which any sort of intimacy was impossible, but those who knew him personally thought him exceedingly agreeable, companionable and lovable. He won his way to eminence by his fine ability, his high

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moral courage, his clean private and public life, his unyielding integrity, and his determination to do right as he saw it. The record that he made during the eighteen years he served the State and the country through the most critical period in the history of the nation will remain a monument to his memory as long as sincerity in a public servant is admired.

It was in the dark days of 1863, when the life of the nation hung tremblingly in the balance, during a debate in the Senate on the proposition to employ the negroes in the Union army, which Howe was advocating, that he was interrupted by Browning of Illinois, who declared that there was no authority in the Constitution for doing it. Howe immediately replied: "Let us do it, then, in the name of God!"

At the close of Governor Randall's administration in 1861, he announced his intention of entering the military service, and there was much speculation as to his successor in the executive office. There was a disposition among a large class of Republicans to ignore party lines, and to make the preservation of the Union the only test of loyalty; but this generosity met with only a feeble response. Accordingly, a slimly attended Union convention was held in Madison September 24, to nominate State officers, and L. P. Harvey, then Secretary of State, a Republican, was nominated for Governor, and Henry L. Palmer, a prominent Democrat, was nominated for Lieutenant-Governor, who subsequently declined, and James T. Lewis was substituted in his place; W. C. Allen for Secretary of State; S. D. Hastings for Treasurer; J. H. Howe for Attorney General; John Bracken for Bank Comptroller; Hans C. Heg for State Prison Commissioner, and J. E. Pickard for Superintendent of Public Instruction. Two days later the regular Republican State Convention put the following ticket in nomination: Governor, L. P. Harvey; Lieutenant-Governor, Edward Salomon; Secretary of State, James T. Lewis; Treasurer, S. D. Hastings; Attorney General, J. H. Howe; Bank Comptroller, W. H. Ramsey; Superintendent of Public Instruction, J. L. Pickard; State Prison Commissioner, A. P. Hodges. This ticket was elected by a majority ranging from 5,000 to 10,000.

On the night of the 21st of April Governor Harvey fell over-

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board from a steamboat at Pittsburg Landing, on the Tennessee River, and was drowned. He had finished his work among the sick and wounded soldiers at Shiloh and was ready to start for home. No event ever occurred in the State that caused such universal sorrow. He was a man greatly beloved by all who knew him, and public meetings were held in all parts of the State to give expression to the feelings of the people. He was the son of poor parents and had to make his own way in the world, like Lincoln, Garfield, and other noted and useful citizens. He entered the Western Reserve college at Hudson, Ohio, but ill health compelled him to leave before graduation. He then devoted himself to the honorable and useful occupation of teaching, which he followed for some years with much success. Locating in Kenosha in 1841, he opened a select school, and amused himself by employing his leisure time in writing editorials for the Southport (Kenosha) American. This gave him a taste for public affairs. He soon began to make political speeches for the edification of the country people, who flocked to the school houses at the cross roads to hear the brilliant young teacher and editor discourse upon the issues that divided the two parties. He was a man a little above medium height, of pleasing address, winning in his conversation, and made friends readily. In 1847 he removed to Rock county and at once took a leading part in the affairs of that splendid locality. The same year he was elected to help in the important work of framing a second constitution for the State, and after Wisconsin was admitted into the Union he served two terms as a member of the State Senate, and was president pro tem. of that body. In 1860-1 he was Secretary of State, and in January, 1862, he was transferred from the State department to the executive office. No man in Wisconsin ever took the gubernatorial chair with a brighter prospect of an honorable career before him than Louis P. Harvey. He had superior ability, a clear insight into public affairs, a natural adaptation for political life, backed by incorruptible integrity and a conscientious fidelity to truth and duty. His premature death was sincerely mourned by all parties.

Governor Harvey's untimely death opened the way, by virtue of the constitution, for Edward Salomon, the Lieutenant-Governor,

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to take his place. No man was ever called to that office when the faithful discharge of its duties called for more wisdom, patience and ability than on the day when this untried lawyer took the oath of office to discharge its duties and uphold the constitution. Mr. Salomon had never been active in political affairs, either State or National; indeed, many of the delegates in the convention that nominated him had never heard of him before, and did not know whether he was a Democrat or Republican; but the convention felt the necessity of putting a man on the ticket to represent the Germans, and upon the recommendation of Gen. James H. Paine, Winfield Smith and others who were well acquainted with Salomon, he was nominated for the second place, little thinking that he would so soon be called to the first. Under such circumstances it is not strange that the people felt some anxiety about Salomon's official conduct, and concerning his ability to fill the bill. They did not have to wait long to ascertain that the interests of the State had been committed to thoroughly competent hands, and that the man at the helm need not shrink from any comparison that might be instituted between himself and his predecessors in office. He was conservative, impartial, loyal in an eminent degree, and faithful and painstaking in the discharge of his official duties. He was confronted by troubles that neither Randall nor Harvey had encountered. The first flush of patriotism that greeted the outbreak of the war under Randall, when it was expected that the rebellion would be crushed in ninety days, with 75,000 men, had died out, and when calls for "300,000 more" troops became numerous, the war got to be more serious, draft riots took place, and the disaffection and distrust among a certain class of the population with the policy of the administration became more manifest and outspoken. In Washington county an angry mob attacked the draft commissioner, destroyed the paraphernalia of his office and threatened to kill him. He fled on horseback to the nearest railroad station, and carried the news of the tumult to the Governor, who sent soldiers to enforce the draft. Hundreds of able-bodied men, liable to do military duty, fled to Canada, or across the sea, rather than go to the front. A portion of the Democratic party in several of the Northern States was dissatisfied with the manner

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in which the war was being conducted, and entered a solemn protest.

One of the strongest of these protests was the Ryan address, written by the able and eminent jurist whose name it bears, and in Milwaukee on September 3, 1862, it was adopted as the Democratic platform by the State Convention. But not without a whirlwind of dissent from some prominent and loyal Democrats. George B. Smith of Madison, formerly Attorney General of the State, spoke in the convention with great fervor and eloquence against the policy of adopting it. He said: "I would not have you give up your Democratic principles, but while our armies are melting away; while the capital is in danger, and twenty thousand brave soldiers—Democrats as well as Republicans—lie bleeding upon the battlefield, not in defense of the Democratic platform, but in defense of the Union, so help me God! I will not now nor hereafter discuss politics nor political differences."

Jonathan E. Arnold, the distinguished Whig lawyer, who had been acting with the Democratic party since 1852, also spoke warmly against the adoption of the address. He said: "No one could be a true Democrat who is not a true patriot. I am compelled to hesitate as to the policy of adopting this address. As a political disquisition, as a history of the party and of the causes of the war, it is in the main truthful and powerful, and such as, if the rebellion were crushed, I would be glad to see printed in letters of gold to-morrow. But till the rebellion is put down, I hesitate as to the policy of its adoption. I am fearful of its effects, both abroad and at home, among our enemies and our friends. I believe that if Jeff Davis read it he would indeed laugh in his sleeve and say: 'Those people profess to be loyal, and yet they are giving fits to the dominant party.'"

This venomous address was adopted by the convention by a vote of 112 to 12. The War Democrats held a meeting in Janesville soon after to protest against the disloyal philippic of Ryan, which was headed by Matt H. Carpenter, A. R. R. Butler, Levi Hubbell, C. D. Robinson, W. C. Allen, General Bragg, and other patriotic Democrats.

In the fall of 1863, James T. Lewis (Union Republican) was

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elected Governor of Wisconsin over Henry L. Palmer (Democrat) by the largest majority (23,664) ever given to a gubernatorial candidate up to that time. Mr. Lewis came to Wisconsin in 1845, settling at Columbus, and at once became prominent in public affairs. He held the office of district attorney, judge of probate, and court commissioner, previous to his election as a member of the second convention to frame a constitution, at the age of 28. In 1852 he was a member of the Assembly and the next year he was elected to the State Senate. He sat in the impeachment trial of Judge Levi Hubbell. In 1854 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor, and from 1861 to 1862 he discharged the duties of Secretary of State. Thus it will be seen that he was well equipped, by his intimate acquaintance with State affairs, to fill the office of Governor to the satisfaction of the people, which he did for two years, when he surrendered it to General Lucius Fairchild. Although Governor Lewis was called to the office of chief magistrate during the darkest period of the Civil War, it was his good fortune and pleasure to send a message to the Legislature on the last day of its session announcing the surrender of Lee, which he did in the following words:

"Four years ago, on the day fixed for adjournment, the sad news of the fall of Fort Sumter was transmitted to the Legislature. To-day, thank God! and, next to Him, the brave officers and soldiers of our army and navy, I am permitted to transmit to you the official intelligence, just received, of the surrender of General Lee and his army, the last prop of the Rebellion. Let us rejoice, and thank the Ruler of the Union for victory, and the prospects of an honorable peace. JAMES T. LEWIS."

Not only did Governor Lewis have the supreme gratification of conveying the joyful news to the Legislature and the people that the rebels had surrendered to the authority of the United States, but it became his official duty to submit to the Legislature the proposed constitutional amendment abolishing slavery in the United States, making legal President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, which was done February 7, 1865, and in his message he said:

"Upon its adoption hangs the destiny of four millions of human

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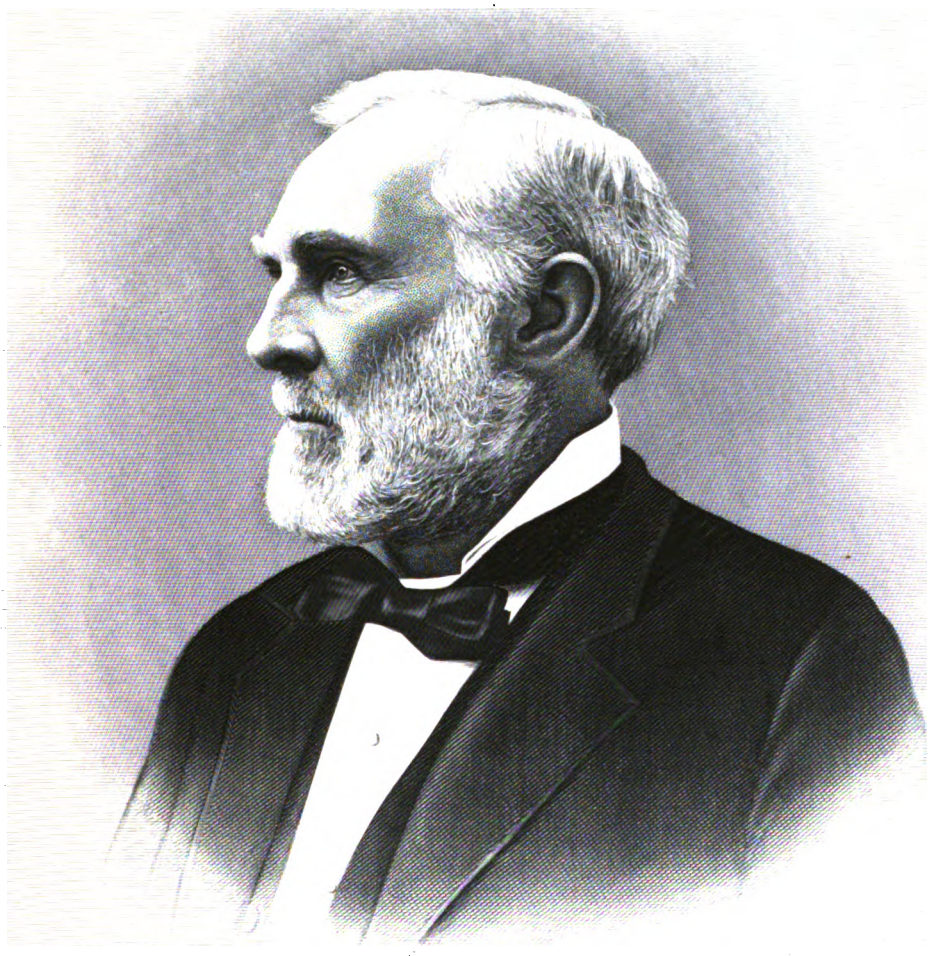

Wm. E. Cramer

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beings, and it may be the destiny of the nation. I trust, and doubt not, the Legislature of Wisconsin will record its decision firmly, and I hope unanimously, in favor of the amendment. Let us wipe from our escutcheon the foul blot of human slavery, and show by our action that we are worthy of the name of freemen."

One would naturally think that, after the terribly cruel and expensive war that had been carried on for four long and bloody years, involving the greatest sacrifice of men and money on both sides in any war known to modern times, there would not have been found a sane man in the North who would object to wipe out forever the accursed institution that had been the cause of all the trouble; but not so. There are men who delight to make themselves infamous as well as notorious, and some of them, to the disgrace of the State be it said, held seats in the Senate and Assembly in 1865. In the Senate on the 21st of February, the question came up in a resolution to ratify the constitutional amendment. On a vote being taken the resolution was adopted—ayes, 24; nays, 7. (See Senate Journal, Feb. 21, 1865, nays, 5.) On the 25th, three of the absent Senators asked to have their vote recorded in favor of the same, and two against; making the vote in the Senate, ayes, 27; p. 274:

Affirmative—Bentley, Bowman, Case, W. H. Chandler, Cole, Elwood, Harris, Hood, Ketchum, Lawrence, Lincoln, Littlejohn, Pope, Reed, Sessions, Smith, Van Wyck, Webb, Wescott, Wheeler, Wilkinson, Wilson, A. H. Young, M. K. Young.

Negative—Clark, Ellis, Morgan, Reynolds, Thorp.

On the receipt of the resolution in the Assembly, a vote was taken on the 24th of February, with the following result: Ayes, 72; nays, 16; two absentees; and the Assembly concurred in the same. (Assembly Journal, Feb. 24, 1865. Vote on joint resolution No. 17 S. ratifying amendment to Federal Constitution abolishing slavery, p. 346.)

Affirmative—Babcock, Barden, Berry, Boyce, Bandon, Brayton, Brinkerhoff, Burgess, Cadby, Carr, Cassoday, Church, Cobb, Colladay, Dewitt Davis, F. Davis, Dewhurst, Doud, Dunwiddie, Eaton, Emmons, Fay, Forsyth, Fowler, Frary, Fulton, Gilbert, Glenn, Groesbeck, Hadley, Hand, Horton, Johnson, Judd, King,

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Knapp, Little, McLaughlin, McRaith, Miner, Monteith, Mowe, Oberman, Officer, Osborn, Owen, Palmer Pike, Reed, Rogers, Ross, Salisbury, Sawyer, Wm. Simmons, Z. G. Simmons, Slade, Spoor, Stuntz, Tarr, Taylor, Tilton, Thomas, Thompson, Utt, Van Ostrand, Vaughn, Weage, Whipple, Williams, Winsor, Wooster, Field, speaker—72.

Negative—Daggett, Delaney, Ford, Gnewuch, Goodsell, Jones, Large, McLean, Murphy, Pease, Peters, Piper, Walker, Wedig, Weiler, White—16.

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CHAPTER XV.

THE FIRST ELECTION OF MATT. CARPENTER.

The first soldier of the Civil War elected to the office of Governor in Wisconsin, was General Lucius Fairchild, who assumed the performance of the executive duties on the first day of January, 1866, following Governor James T. Lewis. Two years before, returning home from the bloody battlefield of Gettysburg, where, on that dreadful July day, when the life of the great republic was depending on the issue, he left his left arm as a token of his loyalty to the old flag, he had been prevailed upon, after much coaxing, although he had been brought up a Democrat of the strictest sect, to accept the nomination for Secretary of State on the Republican ticket. At that time there was a strong disposition among leading Republicans who were then in undisputed power in the State, to divide the honors and emoluments of political office with loyal Democrats, and to form a truly Union party for the suppression of the rebellion. One of the most ardent and prominent of these Union advocates was Senator Doolittle, and it was owing to his persuasive eloquence that Fairchild was induced at last to accept the nomination. His little speech of acceptance to the convention brought tears to many eyes, as he stood there stammering out his reasons for leaving his old party for the sake of the Union, his face pale with suffering and his empty sleeve dangling at his side, appealing for sympathy a thousand times more eloquently than any words he could utter. The dramatic scene will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Two years later, in 1865, he was elected Governor and he was twice re-elected, filling the responsible office with credit to himself and to the entire satisfaction of the people. General Fairchild was one of the most popular citizens the State of Wisconsin has ever known, and none of her gallant and heroic soldiers has won brighter laurels than

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himself. His military service won him rapid promotion, from the commission of a second lieutenant to that of a brigadier-general; and his wound at Gettysburg may be reasonably believed to have cut short a military career of yet greater distinction. His services after the war as Secretary of State, Governor, consul at Liverpool, consul general at Paris and minister plenipotentiary to Spain are not forgotten by his grateful countrymen, while the love and respect of his late comrades in arms was evidenced by his successive election to the offices of commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic in 1886 and of the Loyal Legion in 1893. General Fairchild was a gentleman who possessed many lovable qualities. He hated shams, and never assumed to be what he was not. Whatever he undertook to do he did well. He was an eminently modest man. He was not an orator, but after he entered public life he learned to speak in public, and always spoke well. His frankness and sincerity captivated his hearers. His lack of education in early years hampered him all through his official life, but his deficiency in learning was compensated for by his abundant common sense and practical insight. His three administrations as Governor were without flaw or blemish, and when he retired from office no scandal followed him. Up to his time the usual practice of political parties was to give a faithful officer two terms, but in his case the rule was departed from and he was elected three times. It was the people's way of saying: "Well done, good and faithful servant."

General Fairchild was in the field three times for Governor, and was elected by the following vote:

1865.	
Fairchild, Republican	58,332
Hobart, Democrat	48,330
Fairchild's majority	10,002
1867.	
Fairchild, Republican	73,637
Tallmadge, Democrat	68,873
Fairchild's majority	4,764
1869.	
Fairchild, Republican	69,502
Robinson, Democrat	61,239
Fairchild's majority	8,263

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General Fairchild's Democratic opponents were all well-known and prominent men. General Hobart has often been referred to in these chapters; Tallmadge had been mayor of Milwaukee and was an active business man, but not much addicted to politics. Mr. C. D. Robinson was the editor of The Green Bay Advocate, had served as Secretary of State, and was a popular man.

The most important political event that transpired during Governor Fairchild's administrations, and one that created an intense excitement in the ranks of the Republican party, was the election of Matthew Hale Carpenter to the United States Senate, January 26, 1869, in place of James R. Doolittle, whose term of office expired March 4, 1869. Senator Doolittle had fallen into disfavor with the Republican party, and was not a candidate for reëlection, although he had been twice elected to the Senate, and was still in the prime of life, and capable of filling any public office. When Andrew Johnson succeeded to the presidential office, after the tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, one of the first things he did was to get into an angry disagreement with the Republican leaders in Congress in regard to the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion against the Federal Government, and an open rupture was the result, ending in a fruitless attempt on the part of the House of Representatives, acting in the name of the people, to impeach the President. In this exasperating controversy Judge Doolittle had broken away from the most of his Republican colleagues and gave his ardent support to Mr. Johnson and his policy. For this reason the Legislature of Wisconsin, in 1866, asked Mr. Doolittle to resign his seat in the Senate, but he did not comply with the request.

Nobody expected Mr. Doolittle would be a candidate before the Republicans for reëlection, as he had practically joined his fortunes with the Democracy, but everybody was discussing the availability of certain aspirants for senatorial honors among the Republicans. The chief man among these self-constituted candidates was General Cadwallader C. Washburn. He was a native of Maine, and he belonged to one of the most distinguished families that have yet appeared in America. He had served many years in the lower house of Congress, had made a large fortune in

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the lumber and milling business, had achieved some enviable distinction as a soldier in the Union Army, had been promoted to the rank of major-general, and was known and respected throughout the State as an honorable, honest, trustworthy and accomplished gentleman, who was fit for any public position to which the people might assign him. Mr. Washburn was not only competent, but he was ambitious to occupy a seat in the Senate of the United States. That was the all-absorbing, overwhelming, unsatisfied desire of his life. He was one of the originators of the Republican party, and an ardent anti-slavery man of the Whig type. He had a large following and was a formidable candidate. There were other candidates of more or less prominence. O. H. Waldo, a prominent Milwaukee lawyer, and ex-Governor Salomon were candidates. Horace Rublee, then the editor of The Madison Journal and chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, an able and popular man, was also a candidate. Last of all came Matthew Hale Carpenter. He had been very active as a War Democrat, and had rendered the Union cause efficient and valuable aid all through the trying ordeal of civil war, and after the collapse of the Rebellion he had won great distinction at the bar in arguing the constitutionality of the reconstruction acts of Congress. His fame as a lawyer had become national. How he came to be a candidate for United States Senator is partially, yet truthfully, told by his biographer, Frank A. Flower.

(From the Life of Matt. H. Carpenter, p. 253.)

Having decided to enter the contest, a complete change now came over him. He became possessed of that ardent desire to win which accompanies all honorable ambition. He passed around among his friends of high standing and influence, and having thus learned who would support, who would oppose, and who remain neutral, on June 18 he took the train for Janesville for the purpose of laying the matter before Alexander M. Thomson, editor of The Janesville Gazette. Thomson was an original and stanch Republican, who had been Speaker of the previous Assembly, and would probably be reëlected at the oncoming election. Carpenter was particularly desirous that his candidacy should be first brought before the public by such a man, and in old Rock county,

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his first Wisconsin home. Those who have always maintained that he was no politician must acknowledge that the shrewdness of this move exceeded that of any of the plans proposed by his most adroit and experienced friends. To have his name elevated before the people by The Gazette would be an unassailable indorsement of the soundness of his Republicanism from the highest source; and particularly would it contribute materially to the advantage and success of his campaign to have Thomson committed to his candidacy. He spent an entire day with Thomson, who, though personally favorable to the project, thought it could not be accomplished at that time. He pointed out that Carpenter had never been very pronounced in any formal adherency to the Republican party, and the people, disgusted with the recent deflection of Senator Doolittle and his espousal of Andrew Johnson's "my policy," would regard with suspicion the sincerity and stability of any comparatively new convert whose first important demonstration in the party was that of a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the State. Carpenter declared this view did him great injustice; that he was not a new convert; that his "first important demonstration in the party" was not that of an officeseeker, as he had supported all the war measures, fought for the election of Lincoln (see Note No. 1 at end of chapter), and all the Republican Congressmen; made numerous speeches against Johnson's policy and in support of the power of Congress over the States lately in rebellion, and that finally he was not a common officeseeker, the idea of becoming a candidate for the senatorship having never entered his head until the time it was suggested by Secretary Stanton.

The secret candidate then returned home without having secured a decision, fully resolved to let the matter quietly drop, its existence unknown to any save a few intimate friends, if he could not go before the public guaranteed by the sanction and great seal of Old Rock, his first home in the West, and the very Gibraltar of Republicanism in Wisconsin.

Not more than two or three days after the interview ex-Congressman Ithamar C. Sloan called on Thomson in Carpenter's behalf, but he found little to urge. Thomson had fully decided to

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bring out the brilliant attorney and war orator for the senatorship. On June 20, therefore, he published as his encyclical letter to the Republicans of the State a long review of Carpenter's career, showing his distinguished service to freedom, the Union, Republicanism, reconstruction and negro suffrage; paying a just tribute to his unrivaled abilities as a jurist and statesman, and closing thus:

"Next to faithfulness in a public servant, the country needs the benefit of the ablest men, the best trained thinkers—those statesmen whose methods of thought and action accord with the progressive ideas which characterize the age. We need men to represent us there who possess, in a high degree, those traits of character and of intellect which distinguished Clay, Benton, Silas Wright, Douglas and Preston King from some of those who now occupy their seats. If we can find a man in our ranks whose adhesion to principle, brilliant oratory and great legal ability has attracted the attention and admiration of the leading men of both leading parties throughout the Union, he is the man who ought to be elected to represent a great and rapidly growing State like Wisconsin in the Senate of the United States. Such a man is Matt. H. Carpenter, and we nominate him as the successor of James R. Doolittle."

This article aroused a tumult in political circles. Already had public attention been fastened upon Cadwallader C. Washburn, Horace Rublee, Edward Salomon and O. H. Waldo. They had been formally put forward as candidates, and it was generally supposed comprised the entire list of aspirants. It was largely expected also that Mr. Rublee, being a well-known and leading member of the profession of journalism, would have the support of a large share of the Republican press, though Washburn had been counting on the support of Thomson and The Janesville Gazette. The lines of the campaign having been thus early marked, it is easy to understand the commotion that followed the formal presentation of Carpenter. He and his friends remained inactive for a few days, quietly watching the effects of the numerous petty storms and whirlwinds that were tormenting the political horizon of the State and vexing the minds of other senatorial can-

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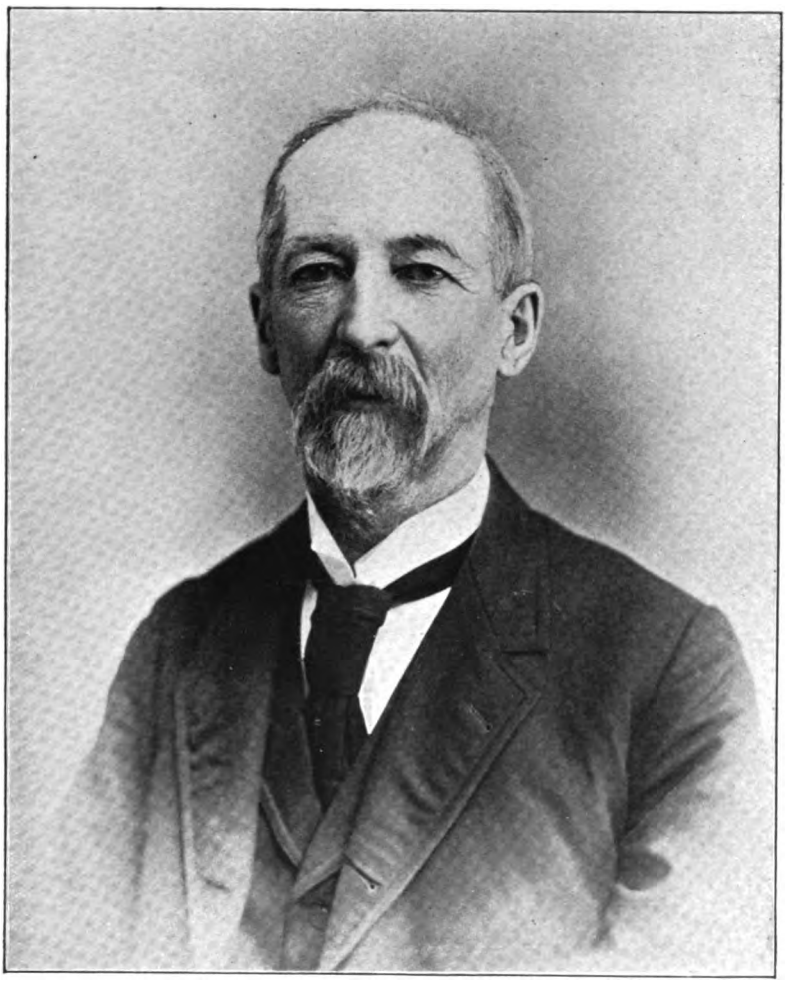

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didates. When these had become less violent it was observed that The Evening Wisconsin of Milwaukee was the only newspaper in the State that had aligned itself with The Janesville Gazette in favor of Carpenter. But the campaign had been decided upon, and must be carried forward.

From that time until the Legislature met in January there was an angry discussion going on in the Republican newspapers of the State in regard to Mr. Doolittle's successor. Mr. Carpenter's candidacy was accepted in all quarters as his baptism into the Republican church, and his public repudiation of the theories of the Democratic party in which he had been reared; but the most of the old abolition wing of the Republican party were inclined to take him on probation, as the Methodists accept their new converts, rather than to promote him to at once hold one of the chief seats in the synagogue. Meantime Mr. Carpenter had taken the stump not only as an avowed candidate for the Senate, but to aid by his splendid eloquence in the advocacy of Republican principles and to assist in electing Republican members of the Legislature. Of course his campaign had the stimulus of self-interest, but it was brilliant and useful to the Republican cause, and everywhere he was greeted with large and enthusiastic audiences. Everywhere he made friends, and daily there was less opposition to his candidacy. When he started out some one made a list of sixty-six Republican newspapers in the State, only two of which, The Janesville Gazette and The Evening Wisconsin, were friendly to Carpenter's election. When the Legislature met in January forty-six of the original sixty-six newspapers had been won over to his support, and he had made the personal acquaintance of many prominent Republicans in the State, among whom were the Assemblymen and Senators-elect who were to choose the next United States Senator. Still there was a strong opposition to Carpenter. The fellow who forbade the bans at the wedding, when asked by the clergyman to give his reasons, said he wanted the girl himself; and so it was with four or five respectable gentlemen who were against Carpenter. The objections raised against him by the radical press were: (1) that he was a too recent convert from the Democratic party; (2) that as Judge Doolittle had turned

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traitor and gone back to his first love, so Carpenter would do the same thing at the first opportunity; (3) that there were many good and able men in the Republican ranks who had helped to rock the cradle of the party, and it would be unjust to them to elevate a new-comer to the best office over them, and (4) that he had refused to fully accept the creed of the Republican party, without any mental reservation or equivocation, until he saw a chance to slip into the Senate. It was under such circumstances that the Legislature met in January, 1869.

At that session of the Legislature I was Speaker of the Assembly and as industrious in the support of Matt H. Carpenter for United States Senator as I was active in the successful effort to defeat him six years later, when his first term expired, and when he was a candidate for reëlection. What led to the disagreement between us, causing me to change front, it is not my purpose to state here. I wrote and printed in The Janesville Gazette the first editorial article ever printed in Wisconsin in favor of Mr. Carpenter's election to the Senate (see Flower's biography of Carpenter, in which that article is entitled "Thomson's Encyclical Letter"). I had the full management of Mr. Carpenter's campaign in Madison when the Legislature met in 1869, and had therefore personal and accurate knowledge of all that transpired during that exciting contest. I had been Speaker of the Assembly the session before, and the first move on the part of the anti-Carpenter men was to try to defeat me for Speaker in 1869, as that would be a blow at Carpenter, I being his friend and active supporter. To this end Thaddeus C. Pound of Chippewa Falls, a popular and able man, and in favor of C. C. Washburn for Senator, and who has since served six years in Congress, was brought out against me as a candidate for the speakership, and all the anti-Carpenter influence in the Legislature was concentrated upon him. "Let us defeat Thomson for Speaker," said General C. C. Washburn, "and as he is a warm supporter of Carpenter, it will be first blood for our side." But I was nominated in the Republican caucus by acclamation, Mr. Pound, if my memory serves me, making the nomination, after generously withdrawing his own name.

The first thing we did was to hire a hall and hold a meeting

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every day, and sometimes far into the night; and here we compared notes, discussed plans for the future, made lists of friends and foes, heard reports from spies in the enemies' camp, and invented ways and means to elect Mr. Carpenter. We all made the solemn promise not to vote for any other man under any circumstances but Mr. Carpenter. If our opponents could elect some other candidate, well and good, but they would have to do it without our help. We left no stones unturned to help our candidate, nor did we hesitate to adopt any honorable measures that we thought would advance his interests; all of which we considered fair in politics as in war, and some of which were very amusing—none more so than the "competitive oratorical contest," which has always seemed to me one of the most humorous episodes that ever occurred in the Legislature of Wisconsin. I never applied for a patent on the scheme, but I was really the original inventor of it and put the machine in running order. Mr. Carpenter was then a new man in the Republican party, was personally unacquainted with many members of the Legislature, and some of those who knew him by sight had never heard him deliver a public address. He also labored under the disadvantage of having been reared in the Democratic party, as Doolittle was, to whose seat Mr. Carpenter aspired, and many good Republicans said that as Doolittle had turned traitor to the Republican party so Carpenter would, and so we old-time Republicans, who had helped to organize the party, had to do considerable endorsing for our candidate. The other candidates were General C. C. Washburn, O. H. Waldo, ex-Governor Edward Salomon and Horace Rublee. I name the members of the opposition to Carpenter in the order of their supposed strength. They were all honorable men. General Washburn had been eight years in Congress, had been distinguished in the Union Army, and was a strong and popular man. Ex-Governor Salomon had been elected Lieutenant-Governor and succeeded to the executive chair after Governor Harvey was accidentally drowned in the South. Mr. Waldo was a distinguished lawyer and had always been a prominent Republican. Mr. Rublee was then the editor of The Madison Journal, and personally knew more politicians in both parties than any other

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man in the State. Although he was "no orator as Brutus is," he was well equipped by education, training and natural adaptation to serve the people of Wisconsin well and acceptably in the Senate of the United States. I had told Mr. Rublee that if Mr. Carpenter could not be elected I would support him as a second choice, and this was the position of other Republican members of the Legislature. Mr. Rublee's best man and chief manager was A. J. Turner of Portage City, an experienced legislator, and an accomplished politician. The fortunes of General Washburn were committed to Thad C. Pound and H. D. Barron, two hard men to beat in a political rough-and-tumble. Waldo and Salomon were on the ground attending to their own fences, and managing their own campaigns. Their only hope of success was in case of a deadlock. We had great faith in Mr. Carpenter's brilliant oratorical ability, and we felt sure that if we could show him off before a big crowd, in comparison with the other candidates, it would greatly redound to his advantage. With this belief, I drew up a request addressed to all the different candidates for Senator, inviting them to attend a public meeting in the Assembly chamber on a stated evening, to speak upon the political issues of the day, and we soon had the names of a majority of the Republican Senators and Assemblymen attached to the petition. Of course everybody knew what our real object was, and it naturally gave our opponents much uneasiness, but they had no course open but to accept and sent me word to that effect. Everybody regarded it as a good joke, except some of the candidates, and everybody laughed. Mr. Rublee, in a humorous and sarcastic article in The Journal, written in his best style, ridiculed the whole performance and aptly called it "a spelling-down match." When I consulted Mr. Carpenter about it he laughed heartily and said he would consent to any arrangement his friends made for him which they thought would help him, but if the oratorical contest was "to be pulled off" he really didn't know what he would talk about. Well, the appointed day, or night, came at last, and I had arranged with the candidates as to the order in which they were to speak. The Assembly chamber was jammed to the doors. But one thing bothered us Carpenter fellows, to-wit: What if the opposition

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should take possession of the meeting—for it was ostensibly a public meeting—elect the chairman from their own number and turn the whole performance into a roaring farce? This troubled us, and the only way to obviate the threatened danger of being hoisted with our own petard was to have me walk boldly into the Speaker's desk when the meeting assembled, call it to order, and introduce the first speaker, thus setting the thing going before any of the opposition had time to nominate a chairman or to put any little plan they may have had in operation. This I did when the time came and the "competitive oratorical contest" for a seat in the Senate of the United States was on! Mr. Carpenter spoke first, and of course acquitted himself splendidly, as he always did, and hypnotized some of the country members to such an extent that they came into our caucus and declared they would support him. General Washburn, who was not good at a declamation, and realized that his solid qualities had no show in that crowd when contrasted with the meteoric glare of Mr. Carpenter's dazzling oratorical fireworks, lost his temper while speaking, which was greatly to his disadvantage, although it rather pleased us. Mr. Rublee read a short address from a written manuscript, which was well received and creditable to him. Mr. Waldo and Mr. Salomon spoke briefly, but their speeches elicited no enthusiasm. Just as the last speaker was suspected of intending to close his remarks some one of our men in the audience sent a messenger boy to me with a note, saying that it was the intention of a certain clique on the floor, when all the avowed candidates had spoken, to call on the dark horses, of which there were quite a number, and as it was a public meeting and a free-for-all race, anybody had a right to announce himself as candidate for the Senate, and thus they would have had a little fun at our expense. To prevent this, as soon as the last speaker had closed his remarks I brought the gavel down with a resounding whack, and said: "The object of this meeting having been accomplished it is hereby adjourned," and I walked down out of the Speaker's desk and the meeting was at an end. That is the inside history of the competitive oratorical contest in the senatorial election of 1869. It was not only novel, but it was quite humorous.

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Mr. Carpenter's friends recognized the fact early in the campaign that General Washburn was his most formidable competitor for senatorial honors, and they also soon became aware, after the Legislature met, that it was Carpenter against the field. When the break-up took place, if all the supporters of the other candidates should combine on any one of them, he would be elected, and our object was to keep on friendly terms with all the candidates, especially with supporters of Waldo and Salomon, who were handicapped by being from the same city with Mr. Carpenter. Our plan of battle was about as follows: Hold a caucus every day to keep the men in line. Induce all the strong men in the Republican party, or as many of them as possible, who are supporters of Mr. Carpenter, to come to Madison and help "to create public sentiment" in favor of our man. (The hotel register of the old Vilas house for the month of January, 1869, now in possession of a Milwaukee editor, will show how well we succeeded in this respect.) Keep on good terms with the supporters of all the other candidates, but let none of them know where Carpenter's strength will go in case he cannot be elected. Keep a sharp watch on those members of the Legislature who are non-committal and have not yet made up their minds for whom they will vote. One stubborn fellow from one of the back counties was not converted to our side until we had sent 100 miles to bring to Madison an old personal friend of his who was a great admirer of Carpenter. Mr. Carpenter had argued the constitutionality of the Reconstruction Acts of Congress in the Supreme Court of the United States, at the solicitation of General Grant and Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, with such great success that Grant had formed a very high estimate of Mr. Carpenter's legal ability, and we made much use of this fact to prove that in case of Carpenter's election to the Senate he could get all the official patronage for his supporters that he asked for, and this was a solid argument with all those, inside or outside of the Legislature, who wanted an office, and their name was legion. I have often been asked if there was any money used in a corrupt way to influence that election, and my answer and my belief is that there was none. If there was, I did not know it. I suppose that the hotel bills of some of the outsiders who had

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gone to Madison to work for this or that candidate were paid by somebody, but I never heard that the vote of any member was for sale or had been purchased. It would have been a dangerous experiment to try in that crowd.

The Carpenter men held a caucus every night, and we were much bothered by the presence of a member of the Senate who came there as a spy, and had been sent into our camp to get what information he could, and then report to the enemy. We all suspected this, but how to treat him was the question. If we expelled him that of course would have driven him hopelessly from us, and we lacked too many votes to trifle with anybody. So we were very polite to him, and before adjourning each night the chairman would say: "All those who pledge themselves to vote for Mr. Carpenter, first, last and all the time, will raise their right hand." This was a little trying for the suspected one, but his hand went up with the rest, and he pledged himself in this way so often that his conscience asserted itself at last, and he finally united heartily with us. As the old Methodist used to say: "He came to scoff but remained to pray," and as we only nominated Carpenter by one vote in the caucus, it is safe to say that the alleged spy's vote saved the day.

When the caucus of all the Republican members of the Legislature was called, on the evening of January 19, Mr. Carpenter's forces were well organized and well drilled. Madison swarmed with his supporters from every nook and corner of the State. Old Whigs, old Democrats, old Liberty party men, and men of all professions, lawyers, doctors, farmers and old soldiers came up to "the help of the Lord against the mighty." Charles G. Williams of Rock, in a captivating speech, nominated Mr. Carpenter for Senator, and nominating speeches for the other candidates followed. The balloting did not continue long. Mr. Carpenter had the highest vote of any of the candidates on the first formal ballot, but not enough to elect him. When some of the others dropped out their supporters went to Washburn, and it was neck-and-neck with him and Carpenter for a few ballots. There were 87 votes in the caucus, and 44 were necessary to a choice. During the progress of the last ballot we had run Carpenter's vote up to 43, and all the

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ballots had been counted but one. If that was for Carpenter he would be nominated. Imagine the strain on our nerves, the death-like stillness of the caucus room, the intense anxiety of all present, as Thad. Pound, one of the tellers, reached for that last solitary ballot, opened it, and read aloud the name of "Matt H. Carpenter."

For the sake of readers, who would like the record in detail, I present the statistics of the caucus more elaborately, as follows:

The informal ballot showed Washburn, 30; Carpenter, 29; Waldo, 14; Rublee, 10; Salomon, 4. Five formal ballots were then taken; necessary to a choice, 44:

	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.
Carpenter	32	34	35	40	44
Washburn	31	32	36	33	35
Waldo	12	11	9	8	4
Rublee	8	6	5	5	3
Salomon	4	4	2	1	1

Mr. Carpenter was elected the next day for the full term of six years, in the joint convention of the two houses, on the first ballot, receiving every Republican vote.

Although Mr. Washburn was beaten for the third time in the race for United States Senate by Mr. Carpenter in 1869, he was still a representative in Congress from the Sixth district, so that he was not out of office. His term expired with the close of the Forty-first Congress, 1871, and it was during the last days of his term that his candidacy for the governorship was determined upon. It is not often that a candidate for Governor of a certain State is agreed upon by the politicians and officeholders in Washington, but it does sometimes happen, and then if the proper precautionary methods are adopted, it is called the spontaneous uprising of the people. As all the chief actors in the drama are dead now, it is hard to get at the exact facts in the case, but tradition has it that an agreement was made and entered into by which Washburn was to be nominated for Governor, and, in return for the support of Senators Carpenter and Howe, he (Washburn) was not to contest the senatorship again with either of them—he having had a bout with both of them. What right Carpenter, Howe and Washburn had to dispose of the important office of Governor

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[illegible]	3d	4d	4th	5th
[illegible]	34	35	40	[illegible]
[illegible]	32	8	35	[illegible]
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[illegible]	6	5	5	[illegible]
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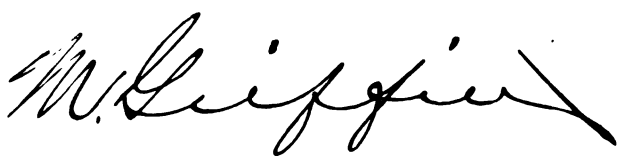

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in that way, to their own advantage, without the consent of the people of Wisconsin, is not apparent, but the testimony of the two Senators is to that effect, although stoutly denied by Washburn over his own signature. The Republican members of our congressional delegation at that time consisted of Halbert E. Paine, David Atwood, Amasa Cobb, Philetus Sawyer and C. C. Washburn, and it is in evidence that they all acquiesced in the plan to nominate Washburn for Governor, probably for no other reason than that he would make an excellent executive officer for Wisconsin. With the two Senators it may have been different. Washburn was nominated and elected over James R. Doolittle, by a vote of 78,301 to 68,910.

Governor Washburn's administration was so clean and economical that he was easily nominated for a second term, and at the time of his nomination there was little doubt that the Republicans would carry that State as they had been doing at every election since Barstow was beaten in 1855. Washburn's colleagues on the ticket were R. H. Baker, Lieutenant-Governor; E. W. Young, Secretary of State; O. C. Johnson, State Treasurer; L. F. Frisby, Attorney General; Robert Graham, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and G. P. Lindman, State Prison Commissioner. On the 25th of September the Liberal Reform Democratic Convention met at Milwaukee, and nominated a State ticket, as follows: Governor, William R. Taylor; Lieutenant-Governor, C. D. Parker; Ferdinand Kuehn, State Treasurer; Peter Doyle, Secretary of State; Attorney General, A. Scott Sloan; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Edward Searing, and M. J. Argard, State Prison Commissioners. This ticket was elected by majorities ranging from 13,000 to 15,000, which was a great surprise to General Washburn and the Republicans generally. The victory was the result of a coalition between the Democrats, disaffected Republicans, Mugwumps, Farmers' Alliance, Anti-Temperance people and Patrons of Husbandry, all mustered under the taking name of Liberal Reform Democracy. The officers-elect were nearly all men of good ability, and some of them had superior equipment to discharge well the duties of the office for which they were named. Mr. Taylor was a Dane county farmer who had served

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in the State Senate; Doyle was a prominent representative of the Irish race; A. Scott Sloan had been elected to Congress by the Republicans in 1861, and Mr. Searing was a professor in Milton College, like Sloan, a soured Republican, but a first-class man. The union of these diverse elements that resulted in the defeat of Washburn was largely due to Dr. O. W. Wight, a liberally educated gentleman who had been ordained as a clergyman, read law, and carried the degree of a medical college. He was a fine linguist, and a ready and forcible writer. He served a short time as State Geologist, and later was appointed health officer in Milwaukee.

Governor Taylor's administration was mainly distinguished by the passage of what is known as the Potter law, which took its name from the Senator who introduced the bill. The act was exceedingly drastic in some of its provisions, so much so that Alexander Mitchell, president of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Company, and Albert Keep, president of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company, immediately notified Governor Taylor by letter that their companies would not obey the law. The act fixed the compensation per mile for the transportation of passengers, classified freights and fixed definite prices for transportation to places on the line of said roads. It also provided for the appointment of a Board of Railroad Commissioners. On the second day of May Governor Taylor issued a proclamation in which he alluded to the defiant attitude assumed by these two corporations and said, "The law of the land must be obeyed. While none are so weak as to be without its protection, none are so strong as to be above its restraints," and closed by warning all officers and agents of railroad companies to obey the law and peaceably submit to its requirements. After months of delay and much legal diplomacy between the counsel for the State and the railroad companies, two decisions of great importance were obtained, the first from the United States District Court, Judges Drummond, Davis and Hopkins presiding, in which it was held that the law was valid, and that the Legislature is the absolute arbiter of the question of rates for freights and passengers from point to point within Wisconsin territory; the other opinion was by Chief Justice Ryan,

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of the State Supreme Court, fully sustaining the law, and declaring the right of the State to control corporations. Probably no opinion by Judge Ryan added so much to his enduring fame as a jurist as this decision upholding the validity of the so-called Potter law of 1874. It is a masterly discussion of the rights of the people, the sovereignty of the State, and the law of eminent domain.

Note No. 1.—This refers to Mr. Lincoln's second election. On the night before the election, in 1860, Mr. Carpenter delivered in Watertown a powerful speech in favor of the election of Stephen A. Douglas, in which he said he could "smell the smoke of civil war" and declared that it could only "be averted by the election of Judge Douglas."

(From Flower's "Life of Carpenter," Page 262.)

As the canvass progressed Thomson hit upon a decidedly novel plan of adding spice and variety to the proceedings. He drafted a call petitioning "Otis H. Waldo, Cadwallader C. Washburn, Edward Salomon, Horace Rublee and Matthew H. Carpenter to appear before a mass meeting of the members of the Legislature, and all others who might desire to attend, and give their views upon the political issues of the day.' This scheme met the decided opposition of all but Carpenter. Washburn, who made no pretense to oratory, was particularly displeased with the call, but as a majority of the members of the Legislature had signed it, none of the rivals dared to decline.

Monday evening, January 18, was fixed as the time for the "prize rhetorical exercises" and the "spelling-school exhibition," as the wags had it; O. H. Waldo denounced the affair as "a humbug"; suggested that "there would be as much sense in choosing a Senator by the length of his nose or the size of his foot, as by the ridiculous scheme of measuring tongues."

Carpenter opened the speechmaking and acquitted himself in his usual brilliant manner. Washburn, who was in an unpleasant frame of mind, followed, and began by making some sharp allusions to his competitor. This at once drove the sympathy of the audience beyond his con-

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trol, compelling him to stem the current instead of riding upon it, as Carpenter had done. Quick to observe his loss, and perhaps a little frustrated by the effects of it, he attempted to turn the tide by a sally upon Carpenter: "My friend Carpenter has said that if you defeat him and drive him out, he shall never dare again appear before the people and shall content himself with giving a silent vote." What conclusion he proposed to draw from this utterance can never be known, as it was followed by vociferous cries of "He did not say that," "You speak an untruth," and similar expressions of disapproval. The commotion became so marked that, although Washburn had uttered but a few sentences, he retired after declaring he had no intention of misquoting anybody.

This episode gave the sympathy of the audience still farther to Carpenter and rendered it exceedingly difficult for Waldo, Rublee and Salomon to do justice to the occasion or their abilities. Even Carpenter's opponents acknowledged that the oratorical contest had resulted in a signal triumph for him, and his friends went into the caucus the following night not only hopeful, but enthusiastic.

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Jas. K. Kennedy

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Jas. L. O'Connor

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CHAPTER XVI.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF DOOLITTLE AND CARPENTER.

Senator James R. Doolittle was a man of deep religious feeling. He was an active and consistent member of the Baptist Church. He was a good singer, especially of sacred music, in which he took great delight. If he had taken to the pulpit instead of to the bar, in early life, he would have become a noted preacher, and no doubt he would have been as conspicuous in the history of his religious denomination as he was as a politician in the ranks of the political parties. Most likely, if he had entered the ministry he would have become an evangelist, and gone about the country, like others of that kind, calling sinners to repentance, and warning them to "flee from the wrath to come." In such a work he would have been a great success. Greatly to his advantage were his splendid personal presence, his apparent earnestness, and the deep solemnity of his voice was often accompanied by a sort of cant that has a fascination for some people, while it disgusts others. The trait in his character that would have helped him on in his career as a revivalist, was his thorough orthodox belief in John Calvin's "plan of salvation," including foreordination, election, reprobation, and endless punishment. His charming enunciation, his sincere manner, his captivating declamation, made him one of the most effective and convincing of speakers. No doubt the religious denomination to which he belonged was cruelly robbed of one of its might-have-been great lights when James R. Doolittle turned his attention to the law and to politics. No doubt that the judiciary of the State lost the makings of a great judge when he laid aside the ermine for the toga of a Senator. He was naturally well qualified to win great respect and honor upon the bench. He was well read in the literature of his profession. He was honest and sincere. He had an innate love of justice. He liked to see

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fair play. It was these qualities that led him to break with his party, after Mr. Lincoln was assassinated, and to follow the fortunes of Andrew Johnson, though he knew the choice must lead him into private life and into that obscurity which he always dreaded. He thought that the plan which Andrew Johnson had evolved for the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion was precisely the one which Mr. Lincoln would have adopted, if his life had been spared. Mr. Lincoln would not have made war upon the Republican majority in Congress, as Johnson did, had there been a disagreement between them, and there would have been conciliatory measures substituted by Lincoln, instead of hot disputes, disagreements and estrangements as there were under the stubborn, pig-headed Tennesseean. Nobody knew better than Judge Doolittle what would be the disastrous consequences to his political fortunes if he enlisted under Johnson's banner. He had everything to lose and nothing to gain—nothing but the approval of his own conscience. Up to that time he had stood solid with the Republican party of his State. The constitutional objection to his first election, because his judicial term had not expired, had been obliterated and forgiven by the unanimity with which the Republican Legislature had chosen him for a second term, and his close intimacy with Mr. Lincoln was enough to make most men respect and love him. That he would have been chosen for a third term, without serious opposition among the Republicans, is as certain as the rising of the sun on the day of the election, if he had drifted along in harmony with the majority in Congress, and had consented to the impeachment of President Johnson. He had already been nearly twelve years in the Senate, and that service, together with his term upon the bench, had destroyed his law practice, and the prospect of having to return to his profession for a living did not furnish an alluring picture, especially to a man whose face had already been turned towards the setting sun. But he did what he solemnly and conscientiously believed to be his duty to his country as he then saw it, and in view of the whole situation no man can say that he was actuated by mercenary motives. That he was an ambitious man is not denied; but it was an ambition to do right, and to act for the best interests of

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the country. His patriotism was never doubted. All through the trying and exciting period of secession and rebellion he had but one thought, and that was to save the Union. To this end he devoted all his energies.

As a political speaker before miscellaneous audiences, Judge Doolittle never had a superior, no, not an equal, in Wisconsin. Those who have heard him on any great occasion will never forget the splendid presence of the man, the charm of his oratory, the music of his voice, or the convincing power of his words. He was always grand, earnest, solemn, persuasive, never flippant, though sometimes apparently sanctimonious. He was almost entirely devoid of the faculty or sense of humor. He never told stories on the stump, never embellished his speeches with anecdotes or funny comparisons, was never epigrammatic, witty, or sarcastic. The comic side of things, even in politics, had no attraction for him. He never indulged in the clap-trap of oratory, but he always spoke—to use his own language—"as an earnest man speaking to earnest men."

Judge Doolittle was always an acknowledged power in the United States Senate, as he was in the councils of any political party with which he acted. He had few equals in that branch of Congress as a ready debater, at the time he held a seat in it, and his high legal attainments were admitted by all. If he had voted for the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, the President would have been convicted and deposed, and Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, then the president pro tem. of the Senate, would have become President of the United States, a radical of the radicals, and the probable result would have been a relighting of the fires of civil war in the South. If Judge Doolittle's influence saved the country from the re-opening of the bloody conflict that closed at Appomattox Courthouse, no man can overestimate the value of his negative vote at the close of the impeachment trial.

There have been members of the United States Senate, men of brilliant intellectual abilities, who were intemperate, and addicted to other popular vices of the times; but Judge Doolittle was not one of them. No scandals ever followed him, social or political. If there were opportunities to make money out of the State secrets

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of the government that were obtained in secret session, Senator Doolittle never availed himself of them to his own pecuniary advantage, nor did he ever stealthily impart such information to his personal or political friends to aid in their speculations. At the end of his twelve years of service, honestly rendered to his country, he retired from his post a poor man; but he carried with him into his forced retirement the respect of his colleagues and a good name, which, we are assured on the highest authority, is "better than great riches."

I happened to be in Washington city in the spring of 1867, when the impeachment trial of President Andrew Jackson began, and meeting the late Judge Doolittle one morning, he said that the great fight was on and advised me to postpone the time of my intended return home and remain in the capital and see the end of the conflict between two of the co-ordinate branches of the Federal government. "It is the first time in the history of this nation," said the Senator, in his solemn and impressive manner. "that impeachment proceedings have been commenced against the President of the United States, and it is highly probable that this trial will be the last of the kind in our history; certainly it will not be attempted again in your time or mine, and the present case is so important in all respects, especially from the political and historical standpoint, that the performance will be well worth your time and attention. Some of the best legal talent in the nation is engaged on both sides, and although I am convinced that the President cannot be convicted, nevertheless the managers appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to prosecute the case will perform their duty with all the ability they possess, and with a zeal worthy of a better cause." I was easily persuaded to remain; I was present in the Senate chamber nearly every day of the long trial, and the recollection of it all is now a source of much pleasure to me. The preliminary proceedings looking up to this great event had been going on for more than a year; the country was in a state of ferment over the dispute about reconstruction, and differences between President Johnson and the radical Republicans in Congress were well defined and irreconcilable. Judge Doolittle had already adopted the views of the President upon this subject

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[illegible] secret session, Senator [illegible] to his own pecuniary [illegible] report such information to [illegible] in their speculations. At [illegible] honestly rendered to his [illegible]; but he carried with [illegible] respect of his colleagues and a [illegible] on the highest authority, is [illegible]

[illegible] in the spring of 1867 President Andrew Jackson began, [illegible] little [illegible] morning, he said that [illegible] to postpone the time of [illegible] in the capital and see the [illegible] branches of the [illegible] in the history of this [illegible] impressive manner [illegible] commenced against the [illegible] probable that this [illegible] history; certainly it will [illegible] and the present [illegible] from the political and [illegible] will be well worth your [illegible] attention. [illegible] best legal talent in the nation is [illegible] on both sides [illegible] although I am convinced that the [illegible] cannot be [illegible], nevertheless the managers appointed [illegible] the House of Representatives to prosecute the case [illegible] with all the ability they possess, and with [illegible] cause." I was easily persuaded to remain [illegible] the Senate chamber nearly every day of the long [illegible] session of it all is now a source of much pleasure [illegible] proceedings leading up to this great event [illegible] for more than a year; the country was in a [illegible] about reconstruction, and Andrew Johnson and the radical Republicans [illegible] and irreconcilable [illegible] Judge Doolittle [illegible] views of the President upon this subject

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Wm. P. McKinney.

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and had cut entirely loose from the party that had twice elected him to the United States Senate. His departure from the Republican fold had been emphasized and confirmed by the Legislature of Wisconsin passing a joint resolution asking him to resign his seat in the Senate for reasons therein duly set forth. He was an able and ardent defender of the President all through that vexatious and exciting period, and his apparently independent position, having been so recently regarded as a sound Republican, and the warm personal and political friend of Mr. Lincoln, gave him a commanding influence in Washington with all parties except the extreme radicals like Wade, Sumner and Butler. Probably it is not too much credit to give to the dead Senator to say that the Senate's vote of only one majority against convicting Johnson was due as much to Doolittle's influence as to any other man's.

The impeachment trial had been brewing for over a year. No sooner had Johnson taken the oath of office as President of the United States than he entered upon a course that the Republican leaders in Congress considered a declaration of war against their party, and they at once resolved that it should be war to the knife and the knife to the hilt. Johnson declared that the ralicals were violating the Constitution, and the radicals retorted by charging that the executive was exceeding the limits of his authority, and was not only guilty of breaking over constitutional restraints, but that he was guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanors" in that he was trying to reconstruct the seceding States in the interest of rebellion. Mr. Johnson had made his famous "swing around the circle," and had made violent speeches against Congress in some of the principal cities of the country, notably in Washington, Cleveland and St. Louis, all three of which harrangues were cited in the indictment which had been made against him. Three separate attempts were made in the House of Representatives in the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses to get the judiciary committee to consent to report a resolution in favor of impeachment before they could agree upon a plan of procedure. The first resolution was lost by a vote of 108 to 57. The trouble was in finding some definite, overt acts committed by the President at variance with the constitutional limitations of executive power, for he could not be

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impeached simply because he had left the Republicans and gone over to the Democrats, or because he had, with very bad taste, considering his high office, responded to a serenade of his friends, by making a personal attack upon Wade, Sumner, Butler and Thad. Stevens, in an inflammatory speech delivered from the steps of the White House. But so cunning and able a lawyer as Benjamin F. Butler and so full of resources was not long in formulating charges, and after a long and angry debate a resolution was agreed to by a vote of 128 to 47, that "Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors in office." On the 5th of March the Senate met as a court of impeachment, with Chief Justice Chase in the chair.

The personnel of that great trial on all sides was very distinguished. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States was the presiding officer but his right to vote on any question, except in case of a tie, was in dispute; the Senate of the United States was sitting as a jury "to determine whether Andrew Johnson, because of malversation in office, was longer fit to retain the office of President of the United States, or hereafter to hold any office of honor or profit!" There stood the strong men of the House of Representatives who appeared in behalf of the people. At the head of the delegation was Benjamin F. Butler, who had a national reputation as an astute and brilliant lawyer and as a soldier; then came George S. Boutwell, afterwards Secretary of the Treasury; Bingham of Ohio; Wilson of Iowa; Williams, Logan and Stevens. Of these, Bingham and Wilson had at first opposed impeachment, but all the others were extreme stalwarts of the old abolition variety. The gentlemen who appeared for the defense of the President were all men of great legal attainments and of acknowledged ability. William M. Evarts, afterwards Secretary of State under President Hayes; Mr. Stanbery, ex-Attorney-General; ex-Judge Benjamin R. Curtis, and Nelson and Grosbeck. From a strictly legal point of view it will be conceded that the House managers were overmatched.

The defense was greatly aided by the rulings of the Chief Justice, which were invariably in favor of the President. Judge Chase had had the presidential bee in his bonnet for a long time, and it

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was still buzzing in his ear. He had been Governor of Ohio; United States Senator from that State, and was a prominent candidate for the nomination at the Chicago convention which nominated Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln had made him Secretary of the Treasury, and afterward appointed him Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Judge Chase had already soured on the Republican party, and seeing the rising tide in favor of the nomination of General Grant by the Republicans to succeed Johnson, he had already been coquetting with the Democrats in the hope of securing a nomination from them. As the Democrats had almost unanimously enlisted under the banner of Mr. Johnson, so much so as to secure the solid vote of the Democratic Senators against impeachment, the conduct of the Chief Justice during the trial is easily accounted for.

As the trial progressed the weakness of the prosecution became more and more apparent as did also the professional superiority of the intellectual gladiators engaged on the side of the defense in the great legal battle. General Butler showed to great advantage on the part of the prosecution and was ably sustained by Bingham and Boutwell; but Logan, Stevens and Williams were of but little account. The personal encounters between Evarts and Butler upon incidental questions that arose during the trial were sublime in the keenness of their wit and the bitterness of their sarcasm. Mr. Evarts was well acquainted with Gen. Butler's military career, some portions of which were not thought to be creditable to him as a soldier, and of these exploits the learned counsel made the most. Butler's imprudence was well illustrated by his treatment of Alexander W. Randall, our old War Governor, who was then Postmaster General under Johnson. Randall had been called as a witness, and after he had been sworn, Butler asked:

"What is your name, sir?"

"Alexander W. Randall."

"Where do you live, sir?"

"I am living in Washington city."

"What is your present occupation, sir?"

"I am at present Postmaster General."

After questioning him as he would any obscure person, and Randall began to feel the insult keenly, Butler continued:

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"Did you remove Foster Blodgett from the postoffice at Atlanta, Ga.?"

"I did."

"Will you please inform the Senate by the authority of what law you removed Mr. Blodgett?"

Randall hesitated for a moment, and then said: "Under the great law of necessity." At this Butler gave a grunt of disgust, loud enough to be heard in the gallery, and waving his hand imperiously toward Randall, he said: "That is all, sir; you can retire, sir." Randall asked the privilege of explaining his action, but Butler would not allow it, his object being to prove from a member of Johnson's Cabinet that the Johnson adminstration was being conducted illegally and despotically.

I went over to the Postoffice Department after the adjournment, where I found the ex-Governor walking the floor in a terrible rage. "If Butler had given me three minutes to explain the circumstances under which I acted I could have placed myself in a very different light before the country," said the Governor, interlarding his statement with a well selected assortment of naughty words that he only used in cases of necessity.

The arguments of the learned counsel came to an end at last, and a vote was first taken on one of the articles of impeachment which was considered strongest against the President. The vote stood guilty, 35; not guilty, 19. As it took a two-thirds vote to convict, the impeachment proceedings had failed by one vote. There were 7 Republicans and 12 Democrats who voted no. It was a close call for Mr. Johnson, but it well illustrates the importance of one vote. Mr. Doolittle is always classed with the Democrats, but at that time he called himself a Democratic Republican. "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet." The Republicans that voted not guilty, were Fessenden, Fowler, Grimes, Henderson, Ross, Trumbull and Van Winkle.

Of course, when the result of the vote was announced and it was learned that President Johnson had been acquitted by one vote, there was the usual charge of fraud and corruption, and the assertions were oft repeated that some of the Senators who had voted for acquittal had been bought up, and that the friends of Johnson,

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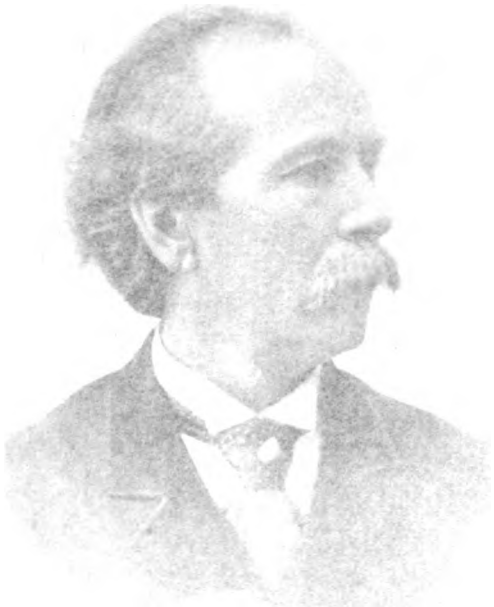

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not having much money, had purchased only the one vote which turned the scale in their favor. The cry of corruption helped to let the prosecution down easy, but the charge was never seriously believed by any large number of either side.

I often wished, during the progress of that famous trial, that E. G. Ryan, our late Chief Justice, then in the pride and power of his genius, could have been of counsel on one side or the other—it would have made very little difference to him which side he espoused—for, if he had been so engaged, the opportunity would have been embraced by the great barrister to make a display of his rare scholastic attainments and legal acumen such as the country had never seen before.

If he had been on the side of the people, as he was in the Hubell impeachment case, and as he was in the trial of Bashford vs. Barstow, he would have been at home and his arraignment of the President would have reminded the English-speaking race of the trial of Warren Hastings; or, if he had defended Johnson, the radical leaders like Ben Butler and Thad Stevens would have felt the power of invective as they never felt it before. No man on either side could have matched him.

I think nearly all the men engaged in the impeachment of Andrew Johnson are now dead, including the distinguished defendant, the eminent Chief Justice who presided, the Senators who returned the verdict of not guilty, the lawyers and the principal witnesses, Judge Doolittle being the last engaged in that great drama to take his departure for that "undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveler returns."

Now a few words of reminiscence concerning the brilliant man who succeeded Doolittle in the Senate.

I think the finest compliment that was ever paid to the forensic ability of the late Senator Matt. H. Carpenter, during all his public career, was what a well educated Englishman once said to me as we were walking down Pennsylvania avenue together in Washington city, just after Mr. Carpenter had entered the Senate of the United States. We had both been occupants of seats in the Senate gallery and had been listening to an interesting debate on Senator Sumner's famous Civil Rights Bill, the distinguished author of the

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bill on one side and the new Senator from Wisconsin on the other. The discussion had been going on all the afternoon, Mr. Sumner speaking with great power and eloquence from a carefully prepared written manuscript, Mr. Carpenter "talking on his legs," as he facetiously described his impromptu efforts. We had sat near each other in the Senate chamber, this Englishman and myself, and as we fell in company after the adjournment, we naturally got into conversation as we walked along about the merits of the bill and the personal characteristics of the two intellectual gladiators. When I told him that I was a resident of Wisconsin he said:

"That Mr. Carpenter from your State is a wonderful man and an able parliamentary debater. As a speaker, I do not think we have any man in public life in England at the present time who will compare with him except Mr. Gladstone. I do not believe that any person ever heard the sound of that voice who did not stop to listen." A neater compliment was never paid to Mr. Carpenter's fascinating oratory.

The debate above referred to between these two famous Senators, both members of the same political party, came about in this way: Mr. Sumner had introduced what was called a Civil Rights Bill, which, as its title indicated, was framed to protect the rights of the colored people in the lately reconstructed States, giving them certain rights and privileges which the laws of the lately rebellious States had denied to them. Mr. Sumner, of course, being an original abolitionist, and the acknowledged champion of the colored man on the floor of the Senate, had drawn his bill pretty strong and incorporated in it some things that Mr. Carpenter considered unconstitutional, and when it was under discussion some two weeks previous, Mr. Carpenter had attacked it vigorously for that reason, although he gave his approval to the general objects which the bill sought to attain. Mr. Carpenter had just entered the Senate and was a new man in that arena, but his fame as a lawyer had preceded him, as he had recently argued a very important case in the Supreme Court of the United States, which involved the constitutionality of the reconstruction acts of Congress, upon which great things depended, and had won his case.

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Mr. Carpenter was not at any time in his life a man to take a back seat anywhere, and Mr. Sumner could hardly believe his ears when the newcomer from the wilds of Wisconsin pointed out the clauses of his pet measure that conflicted with the organic laws of the land with so much force and clearness that such excellent lawyers in the Senate as the late Judge Thurman of Ohio, Senator Conkling of New York and Edmunds of Vermont, agreed with the Wisconsin Senator and insisted on the amendments being adopted that our "Matt." had offered to the bill. Mr. Sumner had taken two weeks to prepare a reply to all his critics and it is needless to say that his speech was one of the ablest and most elaborate that he ever delivered in the defense of the colored man's rights. The morning of its delivery I was in Mr. Carpenter's law office, and found him just back from New York, where he had been for a few days taking testimony in an important lawsuit. He said to me:

"You had better come down to the Senate chamber this afternoon; there is going to be some fun and music by the band."

"What is on the program that is going to be so highly entertaining?"

"Well, Sumner has the floor to-day and is going to reply to some comments which I made the other day on the unconstitutionality of his Civil Rights Bill. He has been loading up for me for two weeks and I suppose he will chew me up very fine."

"What are you going to do about it?" I asked.

"Oh, I am going to answer him then and there as well as I can," he replied, cheerily, lighting a fresh cigar.

"Why don't you take as much time in replying to him as he has taken in replying to you? You know Mr. Sumner is one of the ablest men in the nation and one of the oldest Senators. When he speaks the nation listens."

"Well, I am going to listen, too," said Matt., interrupting me with a hearty laugh, "and if I don't like what he says I intend to tell him so on the spot."

"What I mean is," I continued, "that you will be at a great disadvantage to attempt an impromptu reply 'before all Israel and the sun,' on such an occasion and to such a noted man, and I think you had better do as Webster did before replying to Hayne—sleep on it."

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"Perhaps I may take your advice," he said, half musingly, as he blew a cloud of smoke away from his cigar, "but I can't promise. I know Sumner is a great man, and that I am rather fresh, but if I am to lock horns with any one it might as well be with the biggest ox in the pen."

I may as well break the continuity of this simple narrative here by relating how it was said that Mr. Sumner prepared his public speeches and how he perfected himself in the arts and graces of oratory and declamation. Some one called at his house on one occasion and asked if the Senator was at home. The colored man answered that he was not in, but that he guessed he had gone down to the Senate to "deliber dat 'ar speech."

"What speech?" asked the caller.

"Why," answered the darkey, "dat 'ar speech dat Massa Sumner has bin hollerin to hisself in bed afore he gits up in de mornin' for more'n two weeks."

That is as likely as the story of Demosthenes declaiming on the seashore with pebbles in his mouth to cure stammering.

Entering the Senate Chamber just before it was called to order I met Vice-President Colfax, with whom I was well acquainted, who said to me: "There will be lively times in the Senate this afternoon. Senator Sumner is to have the floor for a speech on his Civil Rights Bill in reply to Senator Carpenter and others, who attacked it the other day from the constitutional standpoint, and Carpenter will probably reply." I expressed the same wish to Mr. Colfax that I had expressed to Mr. Carpenter, namely, that our man would not hazard his reputation by any off-hand reply, but that he would take as much time in preparation as the Massachusetts man had taken. I passed into the gallery, which was fast filling up with that part of Washington's population which is always on hand when any man of national reputation has the floor, and it had been published in the morning papers that Mr. Sumner was to defend his bill against all assailants. Both Senators were already in their seats; Mr. Sumner was almost hidden behind the breastworks of books that were piled high upon his deck for reference, while Mr. Carpenter sat uneasily in his seat, a little paler than usual, the unruly tuft of hair overshadowing his broad forehead,

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[illegible] advice,' he said, half musingly, as [illegible] from his sight, 'but I can't promise. [illegible] that I am rather fresh, but if [illegible] it might as well be with the

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[illegible] member just before it [illegible] order [illegible] with whom I [illegible] quainted, [illegible] will be lively times [illegible] Senate this [illegible] Sumner is [illegible] have the [illegible] for a speech on [illegible] Rights Bill [illegible] Senator [illegible] ter and others, who [illegible] it the other day from the [illegible] tional standpoint, and [illegible] enter will probably [illegible] [illegible] the same wish to Mr. [illegible] as that I had [illegible] to Mr. [illegible] carpenter named, that our [illegible] not be [illegible] by any off hand reply, but [illegible] in preparation as the Massa- [illegible] into the gallery, which was free [illegible] ington's population which is always [illegible] tional repartee [illegible] has the floor, and [illegible] morning papers that Mr. Sumner was [illegible] assailants. Both Senators were already [illegible] was almost hidden behind the breast [illegible] piled high upon his desk for reference, [illegible] uneasily in his seat, a little paler than [illegible] overshadowing his broad forehead,

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from under which he furtively watched his imperious and imperturble antagonist, and to fill in the time before the wordy battle commenced he played the devil's tattoo with his fingers on the rungs of his chair. At length the Vice-President's gavel called the Senate to order; the chaplain prayed briefly, the clerk called the roll and a quorum was found to be present. These preliminaries over the great Senator from Massachusetts, who had suffered for the slave in his own person when Brooks murderously assaulted him in the Senate, began to thunder out his ponderous eloquence, carefully reading from his manuscript.

On a former occasion Mr. Carpenter had greatly shocked the Senator from Massachusetts by declaring in his jaunty manner that the Declaration of Independence was simply a revolutionary pronunciamento, a term which Mr. Sumner had construed to be one of reproach and not at all suited to his exalted conception of that famous document. Mr. Sumner contended with great earnestness that the Declaration of Independence was not only a protest against the tyranny of George the Third, but that it was the noblest exposition of the rights of man that was ever submitted to the judgment of mankind. Mr. Carpenter probably thought as highly of the declaration as Mr. Sumner could, and what he said was for the purpose of annoying his opponent, and not to express any contempt for Mr. Jefferson's manifesto.

"The Senator from Wisconsin said the other day, when this bill was under discussion, that the Declaration of Independence was a revolutionary pronunciamento."

"I beg the Senator's pardon," quickly retorted Mr. Carpenter, "but if he will allow me, I did say what he alleges and I repeat it now most emphatically; the Declaration of Independence was nothing more nor less than a revolutionary pronunciamento, made by rebels who, had they not been successful, would have been hung as high as Haman, with George Washington at their head."

This quick retort amused the galleries and disconcerted Mr. Sumner. He was not used to interruptions of this sort and he could not hold his own with his wily opponent in what Horace Greeley called "a tit-for-tat debate." Carpenter had him greatly at a disadvantage in this respect, for he had spent twenty years of

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his life in court, talking on his feet, meeting the brightest class of men in the country and preparing himself to face any emergency that cunning and well trained lawyers might spring suddenly upon him. All his wits had been sharpened by his legal training and no untoward environment could interfere with his rapid thinking and logical talking. Sumner was undoubtedly the abler and more powerful man of the two, and a much broader statesman and more profound scholar, but the man from Milwaukee had a readier wit and a sharper tongue, and as an orator was much more magnetic and pleasing than Webster's successor. Carpenter knew full well that he could not reply successfully to Sumner's well digested and carefully prepared argument, but he also knew that he could worst him whenever he could get his massive opponent to leave his manuscript and enter upon the colloquial style of debate. This kind of guerrilla tactics greatly worried Mr. Sumner and was wickedly carried on and persisted in by Mr. Carpenter all through the afternoon. The result was that the continuity of Mr. Sumner's written argument was constantly broken by the discussion of incidental and interlocutory questions which Mr. Carpenter was continually interjecting into the debate. Mr. Carpenter showed himself to great advantage in this rough-and-tumble controversy with the most distinguished Senator in Congress, and his brilliant flashes of wit electrified his auditors and drew from one of them who came from a distant land the finest compliment ever paid to his scholastic and forensic attainments.

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CHAPTER XVII.

THE ELECTION OF ANGUS CAMERON.

The political situation in Wisconsin during the last year of Governor Taylor's administration, 1875, was peculiar and decidedly interesting. While the Democrats and their allies had possession of all the State offices, the Republicans at the previous fall election had elected a majority in both branches of the Legislature, and were able to elect a United States Senator in place of Matt. H. Carpenter, whose term of service expired on the 4th of March, 1875. Mr. Carpenter was a candidate for reëlection, and had used all the influences at his command during his official term to make his second calling and election sure. An earnest opposition to him had been developed in the Republican party in the State during the last year of his term, and this opposition was so strong and influential and well defined that when the Legislature convened that was to elect the next Senator, the opinion was prevalent among the politicians that Mr. Carpenter would most likely be defeated. Many of his old friends who had enthusiastically supported him six years before, had deserted him, and some of them were now zealously intent upon his defeat. Some opposed him for one reason and some for another, but all of them were determined that he should not be returned if they could possibly prevent it. The principal reasons for opposing his election to the Senate, were political, but some of them were personal. He had voted for what was known as the "Poland Gag law," which was displeasing to some members of the press, and for a bill to increase the pay of the members of Congress called the "Salary Grab," and other official and unofficial acts that were not popular with a certain class of Republicans. The indictment against the Senator was a long one, and the counts were numerous. A six-column article entitled "Six Years of Sin," reviewing Senator Carpenter's

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official career in Washington, much to his discredit, was distributed among the Senators and Assemblymen as a campaign document.

And yet in the face of all this violent opposition Mr. Carpenter had powerful backing, and when the Legislature assembled he easily secured the caucus nomination. The city of Madison swarmed with his outside supporters. He had the full control of the machine. E. W. Keyes, the chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, one of the most adroit political managers that political life in Wisconsin has ever developed, was the general-in-chief of the Carpenter forces, and he applied the party lash with industry and vigor to the backs of the recalcitrant Republicans. Senator Timothy O. Howe was openly for Carpenter's return to the Senate. President Grant threw his powerful influence in his favor, which had great weight with all who were seeking office at his hands, and their name was legion. As soon as Carpenter was renominated by the caucus nearly all the Republican newspapers that had been opposing him up to that time, fell at once into line in obedience to good party discipline, and fealty to party usages was the watchword all along the line.

But there was a bolt. Seventeen of the Senators and Assemblymen, enough to defeat Carpenter's election in the joint convention—seeing that he was bound to be renominated in the caucus—stubbornly refused to enter it and gave due notice that they would not be bound by it. These were Senators John Schuette, of Manitowoc; L. W. Barden, of Portage; R. C. Field, of Osseo, and D. L. Nevins, of La Crosse. Assemblymen Ole Anderson, of Vernon; Marcus Barden, of Columbia; John Bradley, of La Crosse; Terry S. Chase, of Winnebago; Noah D. Comstock, of Trempealeau; Charles Dunlap, of Walworth; John B. Dwinnell, of Columbia; Frank Leach, of Winnebago; Robert Mitchell, of Marquette; James E. Newell, of Vernon; Marvin Osborn, of Rock; John R. Rowlands, of Columbia, and David E. Welch, of Sauk. The bolters represented some of the strongest Republican counties in the State. The excitement was intense. The bolters were scored in the newspapers without mercy. Mr. Carpenter was hastily summoned from Washington and took the field in person; he made a

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[illegible] Democrats as a [illegible]

[illegible] question Mr. Carpenter [illegible] the Legislature assembled [illegible] day of March [illegible] the half-dozen [illegible] of the Republican [illegible] most noted political managers [illegible] ever developed, was the general [illegible] the support the party lean with [illegible] of the reckless Republicans [illegible] for Carpenter's return to [illegible] powerful influence [illegible] which [illegible] would [illegible] were [illegible] As soon as Carpenter was [illegible] carefully all the Republican newspapers [illegible] up to [illegible] that [illegible] party [illegible]

[illegible] of the Senators and Assembly [illegible] in the joint convention [illegible] to be [illegible] animated [illegible] that they would [illegible] Senators John Schuette, of Madison; L. W. [illegible], of [illegible]; R. C. Field, of Osseo, and [illegible], of [illegible]; Assemblymen Ole Anderson, of [illegible]; [illegible], John Bradley, of [illegible]; [illegible], of [illegible]; Nathan D. Comstock, of [illegible]; [illegible], of Waukesha; John B. Pennell, of [illegible]; [illegible], of Whitewater; Robert McNeil, of Mazomanie; [illegible], of Neenah; Mervin Osborne, of Peck; John R. [illegible], and Dr. E. Welch, of [illegible]. The balance of the Stalwart Republican members in the [illegible] was [illegible]. The letters were scored on [illegible] money. Mr. Carpenter was hastily sent [illegible] took the field in person; he made a

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speech to the bolters but he did not convert them to his support. On the 26th of January, as required by law, the two houses voted for United States Senator. There was no choice. Carpenter received 59 votes, 8 less than were needed to elect him. The bolters and Democrats divided their votes between C. C. Washburn, Orsamus Cole, E. S. Bragg, Horace Rublee, J. T. Lewis and Harlow S. Orton. Carpenter's biographer says, page 291:

"Thus the vote stood, with but slight variations, during ten long, stormy days—days full of suspense, sorrow, bitterness, supplication, agony and hatred. All the power of the entire Republican party, press and officials of the great State of Wisconsin during this time was turned upon the few bolters who were blockading the election and injuring the party that had given them office; but with no more effect than had the Arab sheikh's appeal to the sphynx to save Egypt from the invasion of Napoleon."

Judge E. W. Keyes, who had charge of Mr. Carpenter's campaign, gives testimony in the case as to the wickedness of the bolt as follows:

"As I have said, Senator Carpenter received the nomination fairly, and in a manner not open to criticism or objection. In the meantime there was an organization formed, including a number of disgruntled Republicans on the outside, and a dozen or more members of the Senate on the inside, and they determined to encompass the defeat of Senator Carpenter at all hazards and at whatever cost. The number of those engaged in this political conspiracy was comparatively few. The outsiders were mainly from the city of Milwaukee, although the party proper in that city, the home of the Senator, was strongly and enthusiastically in his favor, and he was supported by the entire Republican legislative delegation in his city. It was the outside schemers in the main that set up the job and worked it to its end. The Republican press of the State, with very few, if any, exceptions, were strong supporters of Mr. Carpenter and the usages of the party. The contest waged long and bitter. The bolting members were banded together as strongly as though they were enchained, and the outsiders kept as closely to them as the master to his slaves. Every means within the range of human agency was invoked to compact

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strongly together this band of bolters and disorganizers, the managers knowing full well that if a single break should occur the whole organization would fall to pieces. It is a fact that the bolting members had no considerable support throughout the State, nevertheless they were so strongly set in their purposes that they were beyond the pale of human reason, and no influences whatever could reach them. They had literally gone mad, and nothing short of omniscient power could change them. At that time I was chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. I was in the midst of the fray; I was Mr. Carpenter's friend. I thought there was no sufficient cause for his defeat, that he had been fairly nominated and was therefore entitled to a reëlection. During the pendency of the contest, the Republicans of the State were aroused; they condemned the bolt as an outrage. The city was filled up with Republicans from the State generally, who came here for the purpose of urging their representatives to conform to party usage and to vote for the nominee. Letters were rushed in from all directions, everything possible was done to induce the bolters to prove faithful to their trust and return to their allegiance to the party which had placed them in the Legislature."

During those "ten long, stormy days," there was a great deal of hard work done on both sides. A delegation of Milwaukee Republicans who had been active in Mr. Carpenter's first election went out to Madison to help strengthen the bolt, and to do what they could to defeat the Senator. This delegation consisted of John H. Tweedy, E. D. Holton, John J. Orton, Asahael Finch, E. H. Brodhead, A. M. Thomson, and others. Some of the bolters were weakening under severe castigation and they were liable to go back to the fold at any time and vote for Carpenter. To prevent this and hold the column steady, they were persuaded to publish a short address to the people of the State, giving their reasons for refusing to vote for Carpenter, and at the same time replying to the adverse criticisms and abuse of the Republican press upon their conduct. This maneuver burned the bridges behind them and cut off their retreat. Then negotiations were entered into with the Democratic members of the Legislature looking to a coalition with them for the defeat of Carpenter. Many of them

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were tired of the long delay and were anxious to elect a Senator and go on with the regular business of the session. Some of them had a grudge against Carpenter for joining the Republicans; others thought it good politics to help to defeat the regular Republican nominee for Senator, and thus widen the breach already made by the internal tumult and which they hoped would finally end in disintegration, bickering and defeat. James R. Doolittle, who had been the defeated Democratic candidate for Governor against Washburn in 1872, and who had been roughly handled by Carpenter in his campaign speeches, was present, and was a potent factor in the proceedings. After a great deal of effort it was finally agreed at a conference of bolters and Democrats held on the night of February 2d, that the Democrats would give one vote for Angus Cameron for United States Senator. If that vote elected him, well and good. If not they would go back to their own candidate. The next day, that "unholy alliance" was carried out and the joint convention elected Mr. Cameron by a majority of one vote. He received the solid Democratic vote and the vote of the seventeen Republican bolters. Mr. Cameron was of Scotch extraction, born in Caledonia, New York, on the 4th of July, 1826, and settled in La Crosse in 1857. He was a member of the State Senate four years--'63, '64, '71 and '72. He was speaker of the Assembly in 1867. He was a delegate to the Baltimore Republican Convention in 1864, which renominated Mr. Lincoln. He served twelve years in the United States Senate, his second election occurring in March, 1881.

Connected with his unexpected election to the Senate, not generally understood, should be published for the information of the public: (1) Cameron was not at any time a candidate for the United States Senate. (2) He frequently wrote to members of the Legislature, while the election was pending, urging them to vote for Carpenter, and declaring that a bolt "will establish a dangerous precedent, and virtually break up * * * the organization of the Republican party." (3) He was not the choice of Senator Doolittle, whose only desire was to defeat Carpenter. Nor was he the first choice of the bolters. (4) His election was not due to the efforts of Alexander Mitchell, as is hinted

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in Carpenter's biography by Flower. Mitchell was not on the ground during the contest for Senator. (5) The bolters had no idea at any time of electing anyone but a sound Republican to the Senate. General Washburn no doubt did what he could to inspire the bolt. He was at no time considered the leader of it, but soon ceased to regard himself as a candidate for the Senate, and left Madison some days before coalition with the Democrats was made. He never parleyed with the Democrats at any time. Cameron was a stalwart Republican and no act of his in the Senate was ever influenced in the least by the manner of his election. The office came to him unsought and in no way did he ever recognize his obligation to the Democratic party for helping to elect him. And it can truthfully be said that no Democrat ever made any claim to a reward for supporting him. The generosity of the Democratic members of the Legislature in helping the bolters to defeat Carpenter has not been repaid to the present time. Those who anticipated that Carpenter's defeat would create a permanent breach in the Republican party were much mistaken.

Judge E. W. Keyes has given to the public a very accurate, comprehensive and unprejudiced sketch of the public career of ex-Senator James R. Doolittle. I do not think that Judge Keyes mistakes the animus of Mr. Doolittle in 1875 when he took such a lively interest in the campaign against Senator Carpenter; but he is certainly mistaken when he conveys the idea that Doolittle labored with the Republican bolters in the Legislature for the election of Angus Cameron. Judge Doolittle had no influence whatever with the eighteen Republican members who bolted the caucus nomination of Carpenter, and did not try to control their action, nor was he admitted to their councils, nor did he enjoy their confidence. I never knew what it was that inspired Doolittle's hostility to Carpenter, but it is true that he entertained it and worked like a beaver to induce the Democratic members of the Legislature to unite with the recalcitrant Republicans and defeat Mr. Carpenter. The night before Mr. Cameron was chosen Judge Doolittle acted in the Democratic caucus very much like the class leader in a Methodist campmeeting in urging those present to help defeat the man who had succeeded him in the

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Wm. E Smith

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Senate of the United States, and it was mainly due to his indefatigable efforts that the strong combination was made and the agreement carried out. The natural modesty of Judge Keyes forbids that he should appear too conspicuous in his own narrative, but the truth is that Mr. Keyes himself was more responsible for the election of Mr. Cameron than any other man; or to put it more correctly, Mr. Keyes had it in his power at any time during that long and exciting controversy to elect any one of half a dozen good Republicans instead of Cameron, and that too, without calling upon the Democrats for assistance. Judge Keyes knows a heap about the secret history of that thrilling incident in our local politics, if he has not forgotten it, and if he would tell the public all he knows it would make what Horace Greeley used to call "mighty interestin' readin'," Judge Keyes was chairman of the Republican State Central Committee at the time, and of course he was commander-in-chief of all the Republican forces by sea and by land. He had the public patronage of the great administration pretty much under his supervision in this State, because he wanted it and because Senator Howe was too busy to meddle with it, and because Senator Carpenter knew that Keyes would use it where it would do the most good for them both. Mr. Keyes was a good deal of a boss in those days, in one way and another, but it was not altogether his fault that it was so; it was one of the natural results of the situation. We all like power, and what good is it if we do not use it? Judge Keyes said to one, "Go!" and he went; to another, "Come!" and he came on a double quick. All the money that was contributed to run the Republican campaigns went through his hands, and there was never a law placed upon the statute books requiring him to give an account of his stewardship, such was the confidence in his honesty and integrity. When Mr. Carpenter's first term in the Senate expired Mr. Keyes secured his renomination for him, as in duty bound to do, although the Senator was present all through the campaign and rendered what aid he could in his own behalf. In point of fact, Keyes was general manager, and it was not his fault that his candidate was defeated. How he could have prevented the election of Cameron, which was accomplished by a

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coalition with the Democrats, will be explained farther on in this article.

When a sufficient number of the Republican members of the Legislature had bolted Mr. Carpenter's nomination to prevent his election, Mr. Keyes had a great deal of trouble on his hands. He found the office of chairman of the State Central Committee very responsible. He was expected to keep the party harmonious, to elect the nominee of the caucus to the Senate, and to satisfy and conciliate every faction of the party. Judge Keyes found the job too great for even his acknowledged abilities as a political leader and manager. He trusted too much to party discipline, which he could not enforce in behalf of his candidate; to the power of the machine, which he had the full control of; to the sting of the party lash, which he used with much prodigality, and to the open support of General Grant's administration.

I pass over in silence the causes that led to the bolt in the Republican party; they are matters of history, familiar to all the old politicians of the State, and I proceed to speak of a little of the inside history of that memorable contest. Keyes had two opportunities to elect some other man to the Senate besides Cameron, without the aid of the Democrats, but he stubbornly refused to do it. He could have called another caucus and nominated another man in the place of Carpenter, or he could have withdrawn Carpenter and substituted some other good Republican, and elected him by uniting all the Republican votes. But he doggedly procrastinated until it was too late. Cameron was not the first choice of the bolting Republicans at any time, and he was only accepted at last as the only man who could get an experimental vote from the Democrats. I do not think that Keyes believed at any time that his favorite candidate would be defeated, and he based his opinion first, on the belief that he could finally whip the bolters into line, and secondly, that in no event could a deal be made with the opposition that had nothing to gain by helping to heal the open breach in the Republican ranks. Lastly, there was a current rumor afloat that the few votes that Mr. Carpenter needed to elect him could be had from among the Democrats, for a reasonable consideration, at any time when they were

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wanted. This was no doubt a slander, but it was generally credited at the time, and caused the opponents of Carpenter considerable anxiety. The last thing that the eighteen bolting Republicans wanted to have done was to be indebted to the Democrats for help to elect a Senator. They did not want to handicap their man in that way, and the Carpenter managers knew it and depended on it to secure the return of the insurgents.

Gen. Washburn's candidacy soon collapsed for several reasons. He had been beaten in the race for Governor the second time by William R. Taylor, and it was openly charged that he had agreed with Senators Carpenter and Howe not to be a candidate against either of them, provided they would support him for the gubernatorial office. This Washburn stubbornly denied to the day of his death. Judge Cole, of the Supreme Court, was the first choice of the insurgents, and he only missed being chosen, instead of Cameron, by a hair's breadth. The night before the election of Cameron, when it was as certain as anything could be in politics that we were to get an experimental vote from the Democrats, I went over to Judge Cole's house to talk the matter over with him. My companion upon this important errand was W. W. Field of Grant county, a man of clear head and good judgment, who had been twice Speaker of the Assembly, and who was an active opponent of Senator Carpenter. Judge Cole had already retired for the night, but we were as persistent as the woman spoken of in the Scriptures who was heard on account of her importunity, and the judge dressed himself and came down. We explained to him the situation; that we expected to be able to elect a Senator on the morrow, and that it was not desirable to elect a man and then have him decline. The judge gave us to understand that while he was in no sense a candidate for the Senate, and personally was in favor of Mr. Carpenter's election—now that he was the nominee of the Republican caucus—nevertheless, if the election came to him unsolicited, without any effort on his part, he should not feel at liberty to decline it. This was what we wanted, for to have elected Judge Cole and had him decline would have doubtless resulted in Carpenter's reëlection. We returned to the caucus in high glee, only to find to our disgust

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that in our absence at Judge Cole's house some of the German Democrats had declared that they would not cast even one vote for him, because some decision of the Supreme Court at some time had squinted too strongly on the side of temperance! They would vote once for Cameron but never for Cole. Judge Cole was regarded as an ideal candidate for Senator by the bolters, and they thought that if they could elect so able and distinguished a gentleman it would disarm much of the criticism of their rebellious attitude, and the Republican party would be well represented in the Senate. But it was Cameron or nobody, and that was the situation at midnight the day before the joint convention met.

In giving an account of the affair, Judge Keyes speaks of the terrible blizzard that prevailed in Wisconsin that night, and that if it had not been for the storm the mails would not have been delayed, but would have brought to Madison the next day certain letters and petitions to the bolting members from Columbia county, who were the leaders in the revolt, and that they would have succumbed under the pressure and laid down the arms of their rebellion! But as well read a gentleman as Judge Keyes need not be told that Napoleon lost the battle of Waterloo, according to Victor Hugo, because there was a deep gully in front of his cavalry that swallowed them up, which was not down on his map of the field of battle!

The next day the two houses met in joint convention at noon for the last time to ballot for United States Senator. The air was full of rumors about everything but the real situation. I met Keyes in the Assembly chamber about 11 o'clock and talked over the situation with him. He was as calm as a summer's morning. I was as anxious as any man could be to elect a Senator without asking for Democratic help, and I had often discussed the affair with him from the "harmony" point of view. But I found him serene and confident; incorrigible and defiant. He had got wind of the "unholy alliance" made with the Democrats the night before, but he did not believe that Doolittle, Pinney and Larkin could deliver the solid Democratic vote for anyone. As near as I can recollect it, the following conversation took place between us. Keyes spoke first:

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[illegible] Cole's house some of the German Democrats [illegible] that they would not cast even one vote for [illegible] Supreme Court for some time [illegible] side of the question. They were [illegible] for [illegible] over for Cole. Judge Cole [illegible] was [illegible] Senator by the Democrats, and [illegible] so also [illegible] distinguished a [illegible] of their leaders [illegible] Republican party would be well represented [illegible] was [illegible] or not [illegible] and that was the [illegible] the [illegible] convention met [illegible] accordingly [illegible] the [illegible] Judge Keyes speaks of [illegible] prevailed [illegible] Wisconsin that night, and [illegible] for the [illegible] the mail's would not have [illegible] have [illegible] to Madison the next day [illegible] members from Colum- [illegible] the [illegible] in the revolt, and that they [illegible] the pressure and had done [illegible] well [illegible] a great [illegible] as Judge [illegible] Napoleon lost the battle of Waterloo [illegible] there was a leap day in [illegible] on the [illegible] upon which was not [illegible] his map [illegible]

The [illegible] day [illegible] convention a [illegible] for the [illegible] Senator. The [illegible] was [illegible] Salmon. [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] He [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] to elect a Senator [illegible] discussed [illegible] the [illegible] point of view. But I [illegible] confident; incorrigible and [illegible]. He had [illegible] made with the Democrats [illegible] not believe that Doolittle, Pinney and [illegible] Democrats vote for anyone. As [illegible] following conversation took place be-

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"How goes the battle?"

"Good. We have got you fellows on the run. Mr. Carpenter is beaten already. All it needs now is to record the vote."

"Oh, I think you are mistaken."

"Say, Keyes, you have it in your power to end all this trouble and elect a Senator that everyone will be pleased with, and I appeal to you to do it."

"How can it be done? I am all attention. If you damned traitors would only give in and stand by the caucus nominee, there would be no trouble. How can I unite the party now? The joint convention meets in an hour."

"I will tell you how. You are chairman of the State Central Committee. The people look to you for guidance. Take the responsibility to withdraw Mr. Carpenter's name and substitute the name of Judge Dixon, Judge Cole, Gen. Fairchild, Horace Rublee, E. H. Brodhead or any other capable Republican, and all the bolters will fall into line. Let the Republican who is first on the roll, when his name is called by the clerk, state to the convention that the friends of Mr. Carpenter are satisfied that he cannot be elected, and that, at a hasty conference of his supporters, it had been agreed that his name should be withdrawn and the name of ——— should be substituted. Every Republican would follow his lead, and everything would be lovely. It is a choice for you between that and defeat."

"If I should do that without Carpenter's consent I should be denounced as a traitor. No; if you fellows want to trample party discipline under your feet you must take the responsibility. We realize that the situation is critical, but not desperate. Let the galled jade wince."

The joint convention met in a few minutes. It was presided over by the Lieutenant-Governor, who was opposed to Carpenter, but he knew nothing of parliamentary law, and could be easily fooled on a point of order. What we feared most was that after the roll was called, and before the result was announced, enough Democrats would change their votes from Cameron to Carpenter to elect him. Charges of corruption had been frequent, and it was anybody's race. The roll call proceeded and everybody kept tally.

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The scene was intensely dramatic. The bolters voted solidly for Cameron, and so did the Democrats, according to agreement. When Cameron got a majority a half-suppressed cheer was heard, and a thrill of satisfaction ran over the crowded Assembly chamber, like a ripple over the surface of a lake. When the roll was completed, but before the result was announced, one Mulholland, a Democrat, from Manitowoc county, got up and changed his vote from Cameron to Carpenter! At this a great shout went up that pierced the heavens! Was this the beginning of the end? Had the Carpenter crowd really secured enough Democratic votes to elect him, and were they now to change? There was treason in the air, and everybody's nerves were at extreme tension! The chief clerk waited a moment for others to change their votes, but no other changes were made, and Mr. Cameron was declared elected!

Judge Doolittle did not care a fig who the successful candidate was; he had no love for Mr. Cameron, but he gladly accepted him, as he seemed to be, and undoubtedly was, the only Republican who could command the solid vote of the Democratic members.

Judge Keyes was an interested spectator of the proceedings, as may well be imagined, and when all was over he walked silently out of the Assembly chamber, looking very pale, and no doubt murmuring to himself the oft-repeated words of Shakespeare:

> "Can such things be,
> And overcome us like a summer's cloud,
> Without our special wonder?"

The certainty that Governor Taylor would be renominated by his party for a second term, and the fact that he had beaten so excellent and popular a man as General Washburn two years before, made it necessary for the Republicans to look over their list of available gubernatorial candidates very carefully, and after doing so the choice fell upon Harrison Ludington of Milwaukee. Ludington did not meet the usual number of willing aspirants in the nominating convention, but found it easy sailing. Taylor's majority of over 15,000 two years before made Republican candidates a little shy, and the contests for nominations on the State ticket were not animated. Ludington had been elected mayor

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of Milwaukee at a time when the Democracy had a large majority in the city, when they could control it, and that fact gave him prestige as a popular man throughout the state. He was known as a successful merchant and business man in pioneer days when the wheat that the farmers hauled into the city over mud roads was sold for 40 and 50 cents a bushel and the purchaser was expected to shoulder some of the bags himself in helping to unload the wagons. He had amassed a comfortable fortune by legitimate methods, was regarded as an honest and honorable man, full of practical ideas, and an original Republican. He had made an excellent mayor, and there was no reason for thinking that he would not serve the people faithfully and well as the Governor of the State. He was elected over Taylor by a few hundred majority, after a well contested campaign, although all the other candidates on the ticket with him failed to pull through. The old habit of the people to elect the Governor of one party, and fill the rest of the State offices with his opponents in politics—as in case of Farwell and Bashford, and partially the case in Randall's first election—was repeated in Ludington's time, and the Republicans only succeeded in electing the Governor, all the other offices going to the Democrats. His administration was not attended by any political excitement whatever, and at the end of his term, 1878, he retired to private life with a clean record and the respect and confidence of all who knew him. He died at his home in Milwaukee June 17, 1891.

Note—Of course Mr. Thomson knew, on the subject of the senatorial contest of 1875, a great deal more than he has written. In the newspaper form in which this Political History of Wisconsin originally appeared, he said, in a parenthesis: "The inside story of this whole affair forms one of the most interesting incidents in our political history, but there is not room for it in the brief space allotted to these papers in The Sentinel."

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CHAPTER XVIII.

THE GREENBACK EPIDEMIC.

William E. Smith had long been a candidate for gubernatorial honors on the Republican ticket. He was a resident of Dodge county and had been prominent in the affairs of State. He had been a member of the State Senate in 1858, 1859, 1864 and 1865, member of the Assembly in 1858, and Speaker of that body in 1871. He had also served four years as State Treasurer, from 1866 to 1870. In all these responsible positions he had acquitted himself with so much credit that his popularity kept pace with his ambition, and when he offered himself as a candidate for the nomination of Governor, it was not strange that he had a large following. He was of Scotch birth, coming to America with his parents when a mere child, and working on the farm and clerking in a store until he attained his majority. Mr. Smith was not an educated man in the sense that he had been graduated from a college or university, but that he had acquired that sort of practical education which fits a man to discharge well all the public duties imposed upon him by his fellow citizens, was amply proven by his successful career of four years in the highest office in the gift of the electors of the State. One of the curiosities of Wisconsin's political history is that of the nineteen gentlemen who have filled the office of Governor, not one was a college graduate. And it can in truth be added in this connection that one of the best rulers the State has ever had, a worthy citizen, a gallant soldier, an able executive, and a useful member of the President's cabinet, could neither speak nor write the English language correctly. And yet there were those among the executives who were excellent lawyers, eloquent orators, practical business men, gallant soldiers, foreign ministers, former congressmen and members of the cabinet. Unlike the practice in many

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CHAPTER XXVII.

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[illegible] Hon. [illegible] was a resident of [illegible] County, [illegible] in the duties of state [illegible] in the State Senate in 1858, 1859 and 1860, [illegible] in the Assembly in 1858, and speaker of [illegible] also served four years as State Treasurer [illegible]. In all these responsible positions he held [illegible] so much confidence that his popularity kept [illegible] and also [illegible] but [illegible] [illegible] of Governor, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. He was of Scotch-Irish descent, coming to America [illegible] [illegible] on the farm [illegible] [illegible] his academic [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

J. W. Babcock

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other States, Wisconsin has never elected an ex-Governor of the State to represent her in the Senate of the United States.

When Mr. Smith was made the candidate for Governor in the fall of 1877, the financial affairs of the country were in an unsettled condition, growing out of the disturbance created by a long and expensive civil war, and many financial vagaries were entertained in the public mind, the desire to have issued an unlimited amount of legal-tender treasury notes among others. The greenback craze had become epidemic among a certain class. Specie payments had been suspended at the outbreak of the rebellion, and a law had been passed by Congress fixing the first day of January, 1879, as the time when the nation would resume coin payments. There was a widespread belief among many timid people, and especially among business men, that the attempt to resume would ignominiously fail; that there was not gold enough in the country to justify the experiment, and some boards of trade and some political conventions "demanded" that the law be repealed, and that resumption should be deferred until the country was in better condition to stand the change.

The greenback heresy was not confined to the Democratic and Socialistic parties, it had permeated the Republican masses as well, and many men voted the straight Republican ticket while they believed that the soft money theories of their opponents were more than half right. Without the greenback the great rebellion could not have been crushed; the soldiers were paid with them, and they had a fondness for that kind of currency.

The Republican State Convention, which met September 11, 1877, was influenced by the fear that if it put forth a truly sound money platform it would have a disastrous effect upon the result, and it prevaricated and dodged. Its utterance on the money question was hypocritical; the voice was Jacob's voice, but the hands were the hands of Esau. Disguising its real position the convention spoke with a double tongue to the greenbackers, hoping to get their votes. It resolved, among other things, "that we hold that the silver dollar should be restored to its former place as money and made legal tender in the payment of debts, except where otherwise distinctly provided by law," etc. This

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was a virtual recognition of the truth of the charge made by their opponents that a change had been made in the status of the silver dollar, which in the parlance of the day was designated "the crime of '73," the Republicans had good reason to feel alarmed and it is no wonder the convention wobbled. Many strong men had gone out from their party, and allied themselves with parties which boldly declared in favor of the inflationist idea. A state convention of the middle-of-the-road greenbackers had been held in Portage City, July 4 of that year, and nominated a full ticket for State officers, with Edward P. Allis of Milwaukee, a great manufacturer and able man, as the candidate for Governor. Mr. Allis accepted the nomination in a well-prepared and elaborate speech in which he extolled the greenback for the efficient service it had rendered the people of the United States in their hour of peril, and declared that it had still other triumphs to achieve in the currency of the country.

The Portage convention knew what it wanted and said it in most explicit and unmistakable language. It resolved:

"First—We demand the immediate repeal of the Specie Resumption Act of January 12, 1875, the rescue of our industries from the disasters and ruin resulting from its enforcement, and the arrest of the suicidal and destructive policy of contraction.

"Second—We declare that it is the exclusive function of the government to supply a currency for the people, and that such currency, whether paper or metal, should be issued by and bear the stamp of the Federal Government.

"Third—We believe that paper money, issued by the government, and made * * * legal tender * * * and interconvertable with bonds * * * will afford the best circulating medium ever devised."

Mr. Allis was born in Cazenovia, New York, May 12, 1824. He attended Union College, Schenectady, and was graduated in 1845. He intended to study law, but he soon found a more congenial pursuit in business life. He settled in Milwaukee in 1846, and after trying his hand at various pursuits without much success, he started in the iron business, and laid the foundation of one of the largest establishments of the kind in the United States, giving

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constant employment to 1,800 men, and sending his manufactured goods to all parts of the world. As the head of a great business he had that rare and imperial power of marshalling and controlling his business with a general firmness and quick decisiveness that never for a moment permitted the business to be the master. His quickness of thought and action has often been remarked. While others were planning, he had planned and was executing. "The Western Manufacturer" said: "Mr. Allis was a man of fine erudition and at one time took an active interest in politics. He became known as a successful writer on trade topics, and especially on economic questions, and was a strong advocate of protection." He was noted for the liberality with which he treated his employees, and the men in his employ were strongly attached to him. His well-known deep sympathy with the laboring men secured him many votes for Governor from men who had no patience with his erratic theories on finance, but as Horace Greeley said when Gen. Winfield Scott was nominated for President in 1852: "I support the candidate, but I spit upon the platform." Mr. Allis was again a candidate for Governor in 1881, but his candidacy attracted little notice and little support. Mr. Allis died at his home in Milwaukee, April 1, 1889, at the age of 65.

Many leading Republicans were dissatisfied with the equivocal attitude of their State Convention on the money question, none more so than Horace Rublee, then chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, and his views were heartily endorsed by Mr. Smith, the candidate for Governor, and James M. Bingham, the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor—the two strongest men on the ticket—and at a private conference of the candidates and other leading men of the party it was agreed that a public meeting should be called and a bold stand taken in favor of honest money. This meeting was held and the position of the party was more clearly defined than had been done by the State Convention.

For the first time in Wisconsin the Socialist Democrats held a State Convention in Milwaukee, September 29, 1877, and nominated candidates for all the State offices. The pith of the platform adopted is contained in these resolutions:

"Resolved, That all industrial enterprises are to be placed under

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the control of the Government as fast as practicable and operated by free coöperative unions for the good of the whole people.

"Resolved, That all railroad, telegraph and mining charters should be declared null and void, and the said instruments of commerce should be owned and operated by the people for the people.

"Resolved, That the National Bank system should be abolished, declaring it to be the function of the national government alone to issue the money of the country.

"Resolved, That we are in favor of universal suffrage without regard to sex, sect, color or country."

The nominee for Governor was Mr. Colin M. Campbell, a leading member of the Socialistic party, a tailor by trade, and a man of the most pronounced and radical views upon all social, political and economic questions. He was English born, and settled in Milwaukee early in the '50's, and was soon active among his friends and sympathizers.

The stuff Mr. Campbell was made of is well illustrated by a little incident that occurred during the campaign, and which showed his decision of character. At a public meeting of the Socialists it was proposed that the plank in the platform on universal suffrage be rescinded, whereupon Mr. Campbell informed the meeting that if they repudiated that plank they must find a new candidate for Governor, and after a hot debate the plank was allowed to stand as a part of the Socialistic creed. This Socialistic ticket did not cut much of a figure in the returns from the State at large, but in Milwaukee, where Mr. Campbell and Mr. Allis both resided, the former polled more votes than his rival.

The Democratic State Convention met in Fond du Lac, at which a "demand" was made for the repeal of the Resumption Act in a loud and authoritative voice, but it was not loud enough to reach the ears of John Sherman, then Secretary of the Treasury, who had resolved to obey the law and take Horace Greeley's advice, when he said: "The way to resume is to resume." At this convention Judge James G. Jenkins of Milwaukee presided, and General Edward S. Bragg reported what afterward went by the name of the Bragg platform. It was a soft money platform,

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and on it they placed a soft money candidate for Governor in the person of James S. Mallory of Milwaukee, on the fifth ballot. The other candidates for the nomination were N. D. Fratt, E. B. Vilas, E. D. Campbell and W. F. Vilas. The financial planks, which were then considered of great importance, read as follows:

"It [the convention] declares its hostility to the financial policy of the Republican party, withdrawing capital from taxation, increasing the public debt by declaring currency bonds payable in gold, demonetizing silver in the interest of the creditor at the expense of the debtor, and attempting to force resumption when it will bring ruin upon the general business interests of the country, and demands instead that property be protected by the government, that silver be remonetized, and the present Resumption Act be repealed, and resumption be postponed until the financial condition of the country will permit it.

"It declares its opposition to a longer continuation of the National Bank currency, and demands that the government furnish its own notes in the place thereof."

This soft money platform was intended to catch the greenback electors, especially the extremists who have been more recently described as those occupying "the middle-of-the-road." From the sound money point of view it is suggested that this hyphenized definition of a certain class of financial theorists was borrowed from the gospel of St. Matthew vii, 13th, which declares that "wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat."

In this campaign the Democrats, Socialists and People's party, the latter represented by Mr. Allis, were all committed to the greenback theory, and on this subject they were all agreed, although differing widely upon other points of State and National policy. All these parties opposed the resumption of specie payments. On the subject of the currency there was really nothing to choose between Mallory, Allis or Campbell, though differing in theory they were all one in substance, and it was Smith against the field on the money question. Mallory had been prominent in Milwaukee politics for many years, was an excellent speaker, a just judge, and he made a thorough canvass of the State in his

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own behalf. He was born in Washington County, New York, studied law in Buffalo, and settled in Milwaukee shortly after Wisconsin was admitted into the Union. He was elected District Attorney for Milwaukee County in 1854 and again in 1856. Governor Randall appointed him Judge of the Municipal Court to fill a vacancy, and he was reëlected in 1865, 1871 and 1877. He was defeated for Governor by William E. Smith by 8,000 majority.

During the last year of Governor Smith's first term an election for United States Senator took place and the choice fell upon Matthew Hale Carpenter, who took the seat that Timothy O. Howe had occupied for eighteen years. The Republican caucus to nominate a candidate for Senator met at Madison January 27, 1897. Judge E. W. Keyes had made a thorough canvass for himself for the position, and had secured a large following. The other candidates were T. O. Howe, Matt. H. Carpenter, Philetus Sawyer and Horace Rublee. The first formal ballot stood: Keyes, 28; Howe, 25; Carpenter, 24, Sawyer, 5; Rublee, 5. The caucus met daily and the balloting continued with little change for five days. At the end of that time, after Howe and Keyes had withdrawn, Carpenter was nominated. Some prominent Republicans who had assisted in the defeat of Mr. Carpenter four years before now made no opposition to his election, while others openly supported him.

At the conclusion of Governor Smith's four years of excellent and acceptable service the office was turned over to Jeremiah M. Rusk, the choice of the Republicans, who held it for seven years, being elected three times, and having his last term extended one year by the Legislature in order to meet the change required by the adoption of the constitutional amendment providing for biennial sessions of the Legislature. Rusk's public and private career in Wisconsin was so unique, picturesque and noticeable that it must forever remain an interesting study for the poor young men of the State, and it will be an example and an encouragement to those who have to made their own way in the world and carve out their own fortunes. The man who begins life as a stage driver, and by the force of his unaided genius, with nothing but his hands and the scantiest education, obtained by a few months' attendance at the district school, and becomes a Congressman, a General in the army,

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Governor of the State, and a member of the President's cabinet, is a man of no common mould, but one whom nature has endowed with an extraordinary equipment for the duties of life. General Rusk was born in Morgan county, Ohio, June 17, 1830, the youngest of ten children, and came to Wisconsin in 1853, settling on a farm in Bad Axe County (now Vernon). He was a member of the Assembly in 1862, and when the rebellion broke out he was commissioned major in the Twenty-fifth Wisconsin Volunteers, and served until the end of the war. He was made a Brigadier-General for gallant services and bravery on the field. He was elected Bank Comptroller in 1866 and reëlected in 1868. He represented the Sixth district four years in Congress. He was elected Governor in 1881 and reëlected in 1883 and 1885. He served four years during President Harrison's administration as Secretary of Agriculture. The Republican State Convention, which met at Madison May 9, 1888, adopted the following resolution:

"The Republicans of Wisconsin, represented in this convention, present the name of Governor Jeremiah M. Rusk to the Republican National Convention, which meets in Chicago on the 19th day of June next, as a candidate in every respect worthy to receive its nomination for Presidency. Governor Rusk's character and capacity have been proved by long and varied service in public life, both military and civil. He was one of the most gallant soldiers who fought in the war to preserve the Union. In the various positions he has occupied in civil life, as a representative in Congress for many years, and as the Governor of this State for three successive terms, he has shown a fidelity to Republican principles, and honesty, courage and wise judgment such as eminently fit him for chief magistrate of the Republic."

When the National Republican Convention of that year met in Chicago, General Rusk's name was presented, in behalf of the Wisconsin delegation, by Colonel John C. Spooner, in an eloquent and appropriate speech.

Much might be said in commendation of Governor Rusk's three administrations, and the critic will find little to condemn.

During General Rusk's occupancy of the gubernatorial chair

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there were four Senatorial elections, but none of them was attended by any extraordinary excitement. When the term of Angus Cameron drew toward a close, Philetus Sawyer was elected to succeed him, January 26, 1881. But Senator Carpenter's death, which occurred at Washington, February 24, 1881, made an unexpected vacancy, and Cameron was elected to fill it, March 10, 1881, only six days after the conclusion of his first full term. On January 28, 1885, John C. Spooner was elected for a full term of six years, and on January 26, 1887, Philetus Sawyer was reëlected for the full term of six years.

At the senatorial election held January 28, 1885, a new candidate for senatorial honors put in an appearance, and modestly gave notice to all whom it might concern that he had entered the contest with the desire and expectation of winning. He was the youngest man who had ever aspired to that high and honorable office; he was a lawyer by profession and a graduate of the Wisconsin State University; he had never held an important elective office, except one term in the Assembly; and he was comparatively a stranger to the older politicians of the State. His name was John C. Spooner. He left the University about the time of the breaking out of the Civil War, and he shouldered a musket and marched to the front to defend the flag. When the rebellion was put down he resumed the practice of his profession, and it was not long before he was recognized as one of the ablest of the younger members of the bar. Back in 1869 Matt. H. Carpenter had set the example, which was then contrary to all precedent, of a man of breadth and brains vaulting from his private law office into a seat in the Senate of the United States, and whatever has been once done can be done again, is an old saying. But the general rule and custom was against the young attorney's ambition, as laudable and virtuous as it might seem. All the distinguished gentlemen who had been elected to the Senate up to that time, with the exception of Mr. Carpenter, "had done the State some service," and going over the whole list from Governor Dodge to Philetus Sawyer, it was found to embrace judges, candidates for Governor, Speakers of the Assembly, State Senators and members of the popular branch of Congress. Then the seat that he coveted had been occupied by Timothy O. Howe and Matt. H. Carpenter, men who stood a head above most

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of their colleagues in the Senate and who were eminent for legal learning and statesmanship. The young candidate felt the force of all these comparisons keenly, and he only promised his friends and supporters that he would do his best, and the contest was kept up. Then he had a dangerous and competent rival in the field in the person of General Lucius Fairchild, a man well known to the people of the State and greatly beloved by all. But Col. Spooner had a fine equipment for the office to which he wished to be promoted, and he felt that self-reliance which comes of conscious power and ability to accomplish whatever he undertook. He had the divine gift of ready speech to a degree that is denied to most public men; he had already won his way to distinction at the bar and he knew himself, as others knew him, to be honest, clear headed and stanchly patriotic. General Fairchild had been constantly in public life for over twenty years, and everyone agreed that he possessed superior qualifications for a seat in the Senate. He added long experience in dealing with public affairs to mature judgment and high character, and it is no wonder that he had a strong following. Thus the friendly contest went on for days, the supporters of both candidates flocking to the capital from all parts of the State in large numbers, but it ended at last in a triumph for the younger element of the Republican party, and Col. Spooner was nominated in the caucus. His little speech of acceptance, when he was brought in by the committee, was exceedingly modest and a model of its kind. His lip trembled a little with suppressed emotion as he stood there in the bright glare of the gaslight looking into the faces of those who had bestowed a great honor upon him, only promising to do his best, and that he would never disgrace the party whose representative he was. That he has faithfully kept that promise to the letter we all know. His splendid record in the Senate during the next six years amply justified the high expectation which his admirers and supporters had indulged in regard to him, and when the Democrats in Wisconsin succeeded in electing a majority of the members of the Legislature in 1891, when his term was out, and Colonel William F. Vilas was elected to succeed him, Senator Spooner retired from the Senate with the respect of his colleagues and the admiration of the whole country. No man ever entered

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the Senate and won his way to the front more quickly and held his position more securely than he. It has seldom fallen to the lot of a new Senator to make such a favorable impression upon all those who take an interest in public affairs, and it seldom happens that a young man, during his first term, impresses himself so permanently upon the older and more experienced statesmen at the capital. When he left the Senate chamber at the end of his first term in 1892, he made a vow never to enter it again until he was sent back as one of the Senators from Wisconsin, and he only had to wait six years before he was returned to his old seat by a grateful constituency.

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CHAPTER XIX.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN WISCONSIN.

There was a struggle during Rusk's administration to commit one or the other of the older parties to advocacy of an amendment of the constitution prohibiting the liquor traffic. Failing in this, the Prohibitionists organized a separate party, in 1881. This is an appropriate place, therefore, for a review of the history of the temperance movement in Wisconsin.

The attempt to regulate the sale of alcoholic beverages in Wisconsin by law was begun as soon as the territory was organized, and has continued with more or less zeal among the temperance advocates ever since. The first territorial Legislature that met in 1836 passed a law authorizing groceries and victualing houses to sell liquor, and fixed the license fee at $108. The penalty for violating the law was not more than $50. Changes were made in the law from time to time and the license fee reduced until 1839, when a license could be had for $25. In 1840 a law was passed forbidding the sale of liquor to Indians.

In 1849 the most stringent license law that ever was passed in any State was enacted by the Legislature that met in January of that year. The law was known as the Wisconsin Bond Law, and it was the first civil damage law probably ever passed in the United States. It provided that the seller should give a penal bond of $1,000, with three or more sufficient sureties, "conditioned to pay all damages, to support all paupers, widows and orphans, pay the expenses of all civil and criminal prosecutions, growing out of, or justly attributable to such traffic, that communities or individuals may sustain by reason of such traffic." Married women were authorized to institute, and maintain, in their own names, suits on any such bond for all damages sustained by themselves or their children. No suit for liquor bills was to be entertained by any

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Court in the State. When a person became a pauper by reason of intemperance, a suit could be instituted by the proper authorities on the bond of the person who had been in the habit of selling or giving to the person who had become a public charge. A person against whom judgment was obtained could sue all others engaged in the traffic in the place who had been in the habit of selling to the person, to compel contributions towards paying the judgment. The penalty for selling without first giving the required bond was not less than $50, nor more than $500, and imprisonment not less than ten days, nor more than six months. The passage of this law was hailed everywhere by the friends of temperance as the most advanced step ever taken in legislation touching the liquor traffic. It was not regarded with favor, however, by a large class of persons. Especially did the most of the foreign born population look upon it as an infringement of their personal liberty, and denounced it and all who helped to pass it. One of the most active men in pushing the law through the Legislature was John B. Smith, then representing a part of the city of Milwaukee in the State Senate. As soon as the provisions of the law were fully understood and discussed in the newspapers, it created intense excitement in Milwaukee, and on the night of the 4th of March a mob of several hundred infuriated men surrounded Senator Smith's house, during the absence of himself and wife, broke in the windows and destroyed and mutilated the furniture inside. Great excitement was the consequence of this outbreak, public meetings were held in the city, every one took sides and the matter had a serious effect upon political parties.

The Legislature that passed this stringent law was largely Democratic, and the bill was signed by Nelson Dewey, a Democratic Governor, and the credit of it, therefore, was to be accorded to the Democratic party. The most active man, however, in getting the bill passed was Samuel D. Hastings, a Free Soiler, a member of the Assembly from Walworth county, and the father of the temperance movement in Wisconsin. He made an able report as chairman of the special committee to which the bill was referred, that was like the voice of one crying in the wilderness of the great West in favor of a great reform.

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[illegible] When a person became a pauper by reason of [illegible] could be instituted by the proper authorities [illegible] person who had been in the habit of selling or [illegible] person who had become a public charge. A person [illegible] who had been in the habit of selling to [illegible] contributions towards paying the judgment [illegible] penalty for doing without first giving the required bond was [illegible] less than [illegible] nor more than $500, and imprisonment not less than ten [illegible] or more than six months. The passage of this law was hailed everywhere by the friends of temperance as the most advanced step ever taken in legislation touching the liquor traffic. It was not regarded with favor, however, by a large class of persons. Especially did the most of the foreign born population look upon it as an infringement of their personal liberty, and denounced it and all who helped to pass it. One of the most active men in pushing the law through the Legislature was John B. Smith, then representing a part of the city of Milwaukee in the State Senate. As soon as the provisions of the law were fully understood and discussed in the newspapers it created intense excitement in Milwaukee, and on the night of the 4th of March a mob of several hundred infuriated men surrounded Senator Smith's house, during the absence of himself and wife, broke in the windows and destroyed and mutilated the furniture inside. Great excitement was the consequence of this outbreak, public meetings were held in the city, every one took sides and the matter had a serious effect upon local parties.

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In 1851 the Bond Law was repealed by a Democratic Legislature, and a license law put in its place.

The Neal Dow Maine Liquor Law was passed in 1851, the same year that the drastic Wisconsin Bond Law was repealed.

This was the commencement of an active campaign in almost all the Eastern, Northern and Western States to secure the passage of similar laws. Samuel D. Hastings was then at the head of the Order of Sons of Temperance in Wisconsin—Grand Worthy Patriarch. Mr. Hastings had been interested in the temperance movement all his life. He never drank a glass of intoxicating liquor or used tobacco in any form. He made his first temperance speech to an audience of colored people in one of their churches in the city of Philadelphia when a lad in his teens. He was, naturally, very much interested in the movement to secure a prohibitory liquor aw for Wisconsin, and in his capacity as Grand Worthy Patriarch of the Sons of Temperance started a movement to circulate petitions to the Legislature asking for the enactment of such a law. Through the agency of the various divisions of the Sons of Temperance a large number of petitions asking for the law were presented at the session of the Legislature of 1853. After beginning the movement to circulate the petitions Mr. Hastings started out to advocate the proposed measure before the people in the chief centers of population. He held meetings at Kenosha, Racine, Milwaukee, Waukesha and Watertown, and then went to Madison where the Legislature was in session. He asked the privilege of addressing the body on the subject of the proposed law. The Assembly chamber was granted and the members generally were present and gave him an attentive and respectful hearing. The result was that a bill for a prohibitory law was introduced and for a while seemed likely to pass, but finally the matter was compromised by submitting the question to a popular vote. A law was passed providing that "At the general election to be held on the Tuesday succeeding the first Monday" in November, 1853, at the usual place of holding elections in the State for the election of all officers required by law, then to be elected, it shall be lawful for the qualified electors of this State to vote for or against a prohibitory law, such vote shall be

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by ballot * * * and shall contain the words: "Prohibitory Liquor Law, No," or "Prohibitory Liquor Law, Yes," and the ballots so cast shall be canvassed and returned in the same manner as the votes for State officers are required to be canvassed and returned.

This law passed the Assembly by a vote of 40 to 12 and the Senate by a vote of 15 to 7—a more than two-thirds vote in both houses. Mr. Hastings spent the most of the time from the passage of this law until the day on which the vote was to be taken in advocating the measure in the papers and by addresses to the people in all parts of the State.

In 1854 the Governor, in his message to the Legislature, said: "At the June session of the last Legislature an act submitting to the electors of the State the question of a prohibitory liquor law was passed. The Secretary of State, in pursuance of the requirement of that law, reports the whole vote cast at the last election upon that question to be 51,632, and that 27,519 votes were for, and 24,109 against the law. The expression of public opinion contemplated by the act referred to, submitting the question to the popular vote, is now before you, and it remains for you in your wisdom to determine what will best satisfy the sentiments of the whole people in relation to the subject, subserve their true interests and be best adapted to the actual condition of things in the State at large."

This portion of the message was referred to a special committee consisting of James H. Knowlton, John W. Davis, Harlow S. Orton and C. C. Remington. This committee reported a stringent prohibitory law and recommended its passage. The bill passed the Assembly by a vote of 43 to 28. It went to the Senate, where it was amended, providing that it should be submitted to a popular vote before going into effect. The Assembly refused to accept this amendment on the ground that the people had just voted upon the question, and as neither house would yield, the bill failed to become a law.

In 1855 a prohibitory law was passed, but was vetoed by Gov. William A. Barstow. In 1872 the Civil Damage Law, generally known as the Graham Law, was passed. This law was substan-

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tially the Bond Law of 1849, and was chiefly instrumental in defeating the Republican party which had enacted the law, and stood by it, and turning the control of the State over to the Democratic party.

The most of the large Church denominations in the State—the Methodist, the Baptist, the Presbyterian, the Congregational and several of the smaller denominations in their annual conferences, conventions, synods, etc., have declared themselves in favor of the principles of total abstinence and prohibition. The great national temperance organizations, such as the Sons of Temperance, the Temple of Honor and Temperance, the Good Templars, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, have always had a State organization in Wisconsin.

Along in the '50s the Sons of Temperance was the leading temperance organization of the State, and for many years was very efficient in pushing on the temperance reform. At a later period the Temple of Honor and Temperance, under the leadership of Col. J. A. Watrous, was quite a power in the State, numbering many thousand members, and was the means of doing great good.

The first lodge of Good Templars in this State was organized at Sheboygan Falls in 1855. The order grew rapidly until at one time it had nearly 500 lodges and a membership of 20,000. It has been an active, aggressive organization ever since it came into the State, and has probably done as much if not more than all the other temperance organizations in creating the strong temperance sentiment now existing. Among those who have been at the head of the Order in this State are: Dr. T. J. Patchen, Samuel D. Hastings, H. H. Giles, George S. Graves, Theodore D. Kanouse, James H. Foster, Phillip Allen, Jr., Capt. J. F. Cleghorn, E. W. Chafin, W. S. Frazier and the Rev. W. H. Clark.

The man who did more than any other one person to create this temperance sentiment was Theodore D. Kanouse. Mr. Kanouse was at the head of the Order of Good Templars in this State for twelve years, and during nearly the whole of this time he was going from place to place advocating the principle of total abstinence and prohibition. Mr. Kanouse is a man of superior

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intellect, well educated and a speaker of great power and eloquence. He was four years in the army and had an excellent reputation as a soldier. About fifteen years since he removed to Dakota. He was a member of the South Dakota Constitutional Convention, and was elected to Congress under the first statehood movement. He served as warden of the penitentiary of South Dakota for several years. He is now on a fruit farm in Glendale, near Los Angeles, Cal.

At an early day a large majority of the active friends of temperance in Wisconsin were attached to the Republican party. In 1872 the Legislature, in response to a large number of petitions, asking it so to do, passed what was generally known as a Civil Damage Law. This law was substantially what was known as the "Bond Law" passed in 1849, and repealed two years after. The bill for the Civil Damage Law was introduced by Alexander Graham, a member of the Assembly from Rock County, and was often spoken of as the "Graham" Law. It was the old wine in a new bottle. The Legislature was Republican and C. C. Washburn was Governor, and the Republican party was held responsible for the law. The liquor interest made a vigorous opposition to the law and tried very hard to repeal it. It was made an issue, more or less, at the succeeding State election. The party generally, and especially Governor Washburn, stood by the law and it was not repealed at the session of the Legislature in 1873. But the opposition to the law was very great and a most determined effort was made to defeat the party that had enacted it and acting in connection with the Granger movement in 1873, the party was defeated and William R. Taylor was elected Governor. This law had been enacted at the request of the temperance people of the State, the Good Templars being chiefly active in circulating the petitions asking for it and the temperance people felt that it would be unfair and unmanly to desert the party that had been defeated, largely because it had done what they had asked it to do.

The Prohibitionists of the State were eloquently urged to unite with the National Prohibition party.

The matter was before the Grand Lodge of Good Templars at their annual session in 1874. The following extract from the

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[illegible] and eloquence. [illegible] and [illegible] reputation as [illegible] to Dakota. He [illegible] and [illegible] he first said he had been [illegible] He [illegible] Secretary of State for several [illegible] in Grenada, near Los Angeles, [illegible]

[illegible] active partisans of the [illegible] party. In [illegible] a large majority on political [illegible] was generally [illegible] as known as the [illegible] 1870 and [illegible] years after, [illegible] by Alexander Gra[illegible] Assembly of Republicans, and was often spoken of as the "Orphan" [illegible] It was the old wine in a new bottle. The [illegible] Republican and C. C. Washburn [illegible] Republican party was held responsible for [illegible] vigorous opposition to the [illegible] very hard [illegible] and is the more or less [illegible] Sessions. The [illegible] generally and specially Governor Washburn [illegible] it was not repealed at the session of the Legislature in 1873. But the opposition to the law was [illegible] most determined effort was made to [illegible] had [illegible] and acting [illegible] with the Governor [illegible] 1873, the party was defeated [illegible] Wellington R[illegible] was elected Governor. This law had been [illegible] the [illegible] people of the state to the [illegible] in regulating the price of [illegible] and for that it would be a fair [illegible] party that had been defeated, largely [illegible] but they had passed it to [illegible]

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[illegible] was [illegible] Grand Lodge of Good Templars [illegible] 1874. The following extract from the

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report of a committee written by Samuel D. Hastings, adopted by that body, will show the view they took of the matter:

"Consider the question in view of the actual situation in our own State. No definite attempt has been made to secure prohibitory legislation in Wisconsin during the past twenty years. The only thing that has been distinctly asked for is a law making the liquor seller responsible for the results of his business. This was granted by the party then in power at the first session of the Legislature to whom the demand was made. At the next session the liquor interest demanded the repeal of the law. The party that passed the law resisted the demand and retained it. Last fall there was an entire change in the politics of the State, and another party came into power. The law was then repealed; the party that originally passed it still standing by it. Now, with what justice or consistency can Prohibitionists in the Republican party be asked to leave it and unite with an independent organization in existing circumstances? We have the evidence that there are thousands and tens of thousands of such now in the party. Would it not be more reasonable to ask the party to make prohibition a plank in its platform before we call upon Prohibitionists to leave? If this is refused, then we would have more cause to make such a demand."

There does not appear to have been any special demand for legislative action touching the liquor traffic until 1878, when petitions containing about 15,000 names were presented to the legislature asking for the submission to the people of an amendment to the constitution of the State prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages. The measure was ably championed by William T. Price, but it failed to pass. At the session of 1879 petitions were presented asking for the measure, signed by 40,000 names besides memorials from religious bodies representing about 100,000 citizens of the State. The measure was again defeated. The matter was presented again in 1880 and 1881 and in 1882, while the vote in favor of the measure in 1882 was less than it was in 1878, when it was first presented. In view of these facts the friends of a constitutional prohibitory amendment came to the conclusion that if they wished to secure the object for which they

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were laboring it would be necessary to adopt some other plan of procedure, and hence, after a consultation between the leading members of the different State temperance organizations, it was decided to call a conference of all the friends of temperance in the State. All Churches and all temperance organizations and all friends of the cause outside of all such organizations were earnestly requested to be represented at the conference.

The conference was called to meet at the capitol in Madison on the 13th day of June, 1881. The call was signed by the Presidents of Beloit and Ripon Colleges and Lawrence University, and by many prominent citizens of the State.

The conference was largely attended and was highly representative in its make up. The Hon. William T. Price was the permanent chairman. The proceedings were harmonious. The feeling was unanimous in favor of continuing to work for a constitutional prohibitory amendment.

It was decided to make a formal demand upon the two State Conventions of the two great political parties soon to assemble, that they place planks in their respective platforms to the effect that they would favor the submission of a constitutional prohibitory amendment to a vote of the people—not that they should pledge themselves to favor or vote for such an amendment, but simply that they would allow the question to be submitted to a vote of the people in the manner prescribed by the constitution. The conference provided, in the event the State Conventions of the two parties refused to grant their request for the immediate calling of a State Convention to place in nomination candidates for State officers pledged to the submission of the proposed constitutional prohibitory amendment. A committee was appointed to act in case the action of the Republican and Democratic Conventions was adverse to their wishes. Both conventions refused to grant the request made to them, when a call was immediately issued for a State Convention to meet in the Assembly chamber, Madison, on the 29th day of September, 1881. The convention was well attended and the proceedings were earnest and harmonious. A full ticket for State officers was nominated, with Theodore D. Kanouse at its head, as the nominee for Governor. H. H. Giles

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was appointed chairman of the State Committee and S. D. Hastings secretary.

There were about five weeks for the campaign, and the committee had at their disposal only about $500 for the entire expenses of the campaign. They made the best possible use of the time and money at their command. They were compelled to labor at the greatest possible disadvantage, as they had no organization and but very limited means of learning who their friends were in different parts of the State. One great difficulty they labored under was their lack of knowledge as to whom they could send tickets, as there was no Australian Ballot Law in force then. There were, doubtless, hundreds of voting precincts where there were no tickets from the fact that no persons were known to whom tickets could be sent.

In spite of all these difficulties 13,225 votes were polled for Mr. Kanouse.

The party was known as the "Independent Temperance Party." In 1884 the party affiliated with the National Prohibition party by sending delegates to the National Prohibition Convention, held at Pittsburg in that year. It has had tickets in the field at every National and State election since.

The following are the names of those who have been candidates of the party for Governor of Wisconsin: Theodore D. Kanouse, 1881; S. D. Hastings, 1884; J. M. Olin, 1886; E. G. Durant, 1888; Charles Alexander, 1890; T. C. Richmond, 1892; J. F. Cleghorn, 1894; J. H. Berkey, 1896; E. W. Chafin, 1898. The vote for the Prohibition ticket ranged between 8,000 and 17,000 during this term of years.

In 1881 a law known as the Anti-Treating Law was passed, but it did not work well and was repealed in 1882.

The License Laws of the State are substantially as they were in 1882. The following are some of the provisions that have been adopted since 1882: Registered pharmacists may procure permits to sell strong spirituous and ardent spirits in quantities less than one gallon for medicinal, mechanical or scientific purposes only. In 1885 a law was enacted by which the electors of the several cities, villages and towns in the State may hold special elections for

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the purpose of determining the amount to be paid for license to sell intoxicating liquors to be drank on the premises. These special elections can only be held once in three years. In 1889 a law was passed to enable the voters of the several towns, villages and cities of the State to vote upon the question whether the sale of intoxicating liquors shall be licensed in their respective towns, villages and cities.

In order to vote upon this question a petition has to be filed with the clerk of the town, village or city where it is wished to have the vote taken, signed by a number of qualified voters equal to more than 10 per cent. of the number of votes cast at the last general election in such town, village or city for Governor. On the receipt of such petition the law prescribes the way in which the clerk aforesaid shall issue the call for such election, and the way in which the vote shall be taken.

In 1889 a law was passed forbidding the payment of claims for intoxicating drinks against the estates of deceased persons.

In 1891 a law was passed providing that no license to sell intoxicating liquors shall be granted to any person who is a keeper or owner, directly or indirectly, of a house of ill-fame or prostitution.

In 1895 the law requiring the officers of the State and County Agricultural Societies to file an affidavit with the Secretary of State to the effect that no intoxicating liquors had been sold upon their grounds during their annual fair before they could receive the annual appropriation, was repealed. Justices of the peace are not allowed to have their offices in saloons or in any place where intoxicating liquors are sold.

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John Williams

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CHAPTER XX.

THE BENNETT LAW EXCITEMENT.

The seven years of Jeremiah M. Rusk in the executive office deferred the hopes of many aspirants who had looked with longing eyes towards the capitol at Madison, and when the convention met to select "Uncle Jerry's" successor there was no lack of willing candidates. Rusk's plurality of 18,000 in 1886 had seemed to restore confidence among candidates and create the impression that the Republican party was certain to continue in power, and that a nomination on that ticket was sure to result in an election. The newspapers in different localities had been busy for some months before the State convention met in making favorable mention of favorite candidates, but public opinion was divided between several ambitious gentlemen whose qualifications had been duly set forth by the local press. The most prominent of these candidates were William D. Hoard of Jefferson county, Edward C. McFetridge of Dodge, and Horace A. Taylor of Hudson. Hoard and McFetridge resided in Democratic counties. All three were Republicans of superior qualifications, in good standing, and all of them were well known to the people of the State. McFetridge had served two terms as State Treasurer, and he was encouraged in his candidacy by the example of William E. Smith, who had been promoted in 1877 from the treasurer's office to the gubernatorial chair. Taylor had been chairman of the Republican State Central Committee four years, 1884-8, an able editor, familiar with public affairs, and qualified by education and temperament to discharge the duties of the position. Hoard had never held an elective office, and was the last to enter the race as a candidate for the nomination for the first place on the ticket. He had never had any legislative experience. He had acquired some reputation among the newspaper men as the teller of good stories—like Mr. Lincoln,

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whom he somewhat resembled in personal appearance—and he had made himself popular with the agriculturists of the State by editing an excellent paper devoted to the dairying interest. He was born in Stockbridge, Jefferson county, N. Y., October 10, 1836, and came to Wisconsin in 1857. He had served in the Union army, which gave him an advantage with the old soldiers not enjoyed by either of his rivals. He was one of the organizers and president of the Northwestern Dairymen's Association, and he had always been a favorite lecturer at the farmers' institutes. He certainly had in him the elements of an available candidate. He went before the nominating convention with many points in his favor, and there was little surprise when he carried off the prize on the first formal ballot, which stood, Hoard, 165; Taylor, 82; McFetridge, 74. Mr. Hoard made a thorough canvass of the State in behalf of the Republican State ticket, surprising his friends with his eloquent speech, and made a favorable impression everywhere upon the large audiences that assembled to hear him. He met with much ridicule from a portion of the opposition press in consequence of his close connection with the dairying interest, and he was dubbed the "cow candidate" by his opponents. But such terms of vulgar reproach only served to increase his popularity in the rural districts with the men who clothe and feed the nation, and when the votes were counted on election night, it was found that he had a plurality of 20,000 over James Morgan, his Democratic opponent—the largest Republican plurality that any candidate for Governor had received in twenty-four years.

During Hoard's administration an act was passed by the Legislature relating to the compulsory instruction of children in the English language, and prohibiting their employment in shops and factories under a specified age. The bill was introduced by Michael John Bennett, of Pine Knot, Iowa county, and becoming afterwards the cause of great contention and ill-feeling between the Republicans on the one side and the Democrats and their allies on the other, the act passed into history as the Bennett law. It appears as Chapter 519 of the Session Laws of 1889. When the bill was introduced in the Assembly it was not designed to be a partisan measure, nor was it so considered by anybody in the

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Legislature, but it was regarded as a measure of necessity for the benefit of the children of the State, growing out of the situation in certain localities. There was little debate upon it when it was passing through its different stages in the Legislature, and it was supported by men of both political parties. No one supposed that it was loaded with the elements of such tremendous political destruction as the future developed. The essential portions of the act so far as they relate to the compulsory instruction of the child in the English language are as follows:

"CHAPTER 519.

"An Act concerning the education and employment of children.

Sec. 1. Every parent or other person having under his control a child between the ages of 7 and 14 years shall annually cause such child to attend some public or private day school in the city, town or district in which he resides, for a period not less than twelve weeks in each year, which number of weeks shall be fixed prior to the 1st day of September in each year by the Board of Education or Board of Directors of the city, town or district, and for a portion or portions thereof, to be so fixed by such boards, the attendance shall be consecutive, and such boards shall, at least ten days prior to the beginning of such period, publish the time or times of attendance in such manner as such boards shall direct; provided that such boards shall not fix such compulsory period at more than twenty-four weeks in each year.

Sec. 2. For every neglect of such duty the person having such control and so offending shall forfeit to the use of the public schools of such city, town or district a sum not less than three dollars ($3), nor more than twenty dollars ($20); and failure for each week or portion of a week on the part of any such person to comply with the provisions of this act shall constitute a distinct offense; provided that any such child shall be excused from attendance at school required by this act, by the Board of Education or School Directors of the city, town or district in which such child resides, upon its being shown to their satisfaction that the person so neglecting is not able to send such child to school, or that instruction has otherwise been given for a like period of time to such child in the ele-

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mentary branches commonly taught in the public schools, or that such child has already acquired such elementary branches of learning, or that his physical or mental condition is such as to render attendance inexpedient or impracticable, and in all cases where such child shall be excused the penalty herein provided shall not be incurred.

Sec. 3. Any person having control of a child who, with intent to evade the provisions of this act, shall make a willful false statement concerning the age of such child or the time such child has attended school, shall, for such offense, forfeit a sum of not less than three dollars ($3) nor more than twenty dollars ($20) for the use of the public schools of such city, town or district.

Sec. 4. Five days prior to the prosecution under this act such board shall cause a written notice to be personally served upon such person having control of any such child of his duty under this act, and of his default in failing to comply with the provisions hereof, and if, upon the hearing of such prosecution, it shall appear to the satisfaction of the court that before or after the receipt of such notice such person has caused such child to attend a school as provided in this act, in good faith and with intent to continue such attendance, then the penalty provided by this act shall not be incurred.

Sec. 5. No school shall be regarded as a school, under this act, unless there shall be taught therein, as part of the elementary education of children, reading, writing, arithmetic and United States history, in the English language.

Sec. 6. Prosecutions under this act shall only be instituted and carried on by the authority of such boards, and shall be brought in the name of said boards, and all fines and penalties, when collected, shall be paid to the school treasurer of such city, town or district, or other officer entitled to receive school moneys, the same to be held and accounted for as other school moneys received for school purposes.

Sec. 7. Jurisdiction to enforce the penalties herein described in this act is hereby conferred on justices of the peace and police magistrates within their respective counties.

Sec. 8. Any child between the ages of 9 and 14 years who,

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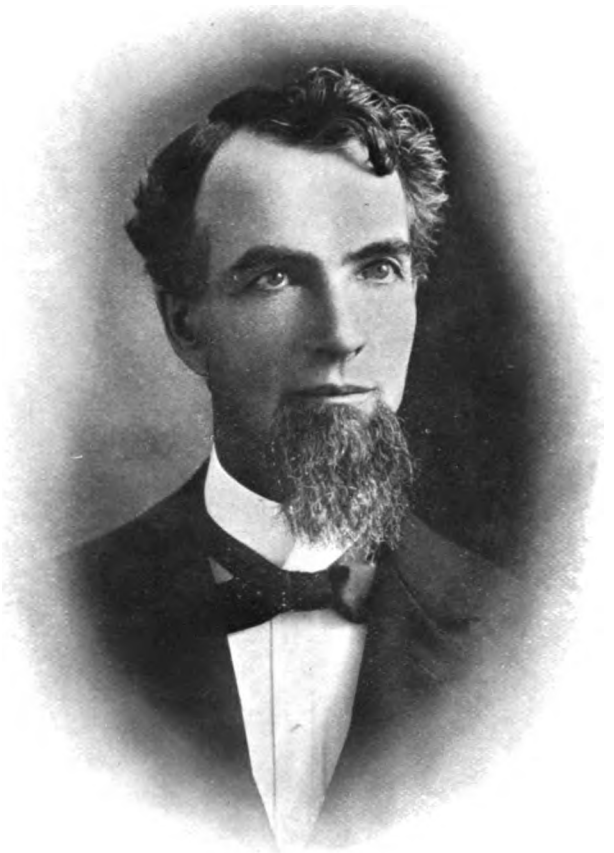

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without leave and against the will of his parent, guardian or other person having the right to control such child, habitually absents himself from the school to which he is sent or directed to be sent, and is beyond the control of his parent or guardian or other person having the right to control such child in that regard, and wanders or loiters in streets, alleys or other public places, shall be deemed a truant child, and on such truancy being alleged and proved, such truant child shall be adjudged a dependent child in like manner as is now provided by law for the adjudication of dependent children, and being so adjudged dependent may be committed in like manner for such time not exceeding two years as the judge or court having the jurisdiction of the matter may determine. Any child so committed may, upon proof of amendment, or for other sufficient cause shown upon a hearing of the case, be discharged by such judge or court at any time, but such child shall not be so confined after the age of 14 years, nor shall he be bound or apprenticed nor placed out of any school to which he shall be committed. Officers appointed by the Board of Education or Board of School Directors shall have power and authority to take a truant child found on the streets, alleys or other public places during school hours, to such school conveniently located to the home of such child, as may be designated and requested by such parent, guardian or other person having the right to control such child, and such officer shall ascertain from such parent, guardian or other person having the right to control such child the school which he desires such child shall attend; or in case of refusal to designate and request by the parent, guardian or other person having the right to control such child; or in case such child has no parent, guardian or other persons in control, then the public school situated in the district where such child lives, or to such public school as such board may direct."

The necessity for the passage of such a law, its supporters asserted, was found in the fact that, by the sworn testimony of the school district clerks of the State, there were nearly 50,000 children within our borders between the ages of 7 and 14 who attended no school whatever, either public, private or parochial, and the beneficial effects of the law, during the year and a half that it was

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allowed to remain upon the statute book, may be inferred from the claim which has been made in its behalf that under the régimé of the Bennett law 21,000 of these children found their way into the schools of the State, 16,000 going into the public schools, and 5,000 into parochial and private schools. During all that time there was not one man prosecuted or fined, not one church was in any way disturbed or its management interfered with, nor was a single parochial school invaded or made afraid. This is as much as to say that though the law was on the statute book, no steps were taken to enforce it. Even its best friends admitted that the measure was imperfect, and that some of its provisions would work unnecessary hardship to individuals if enforced. Such, for instance, was the complaint against the prescription in the first section that every parent must send children of school age to a school "in the district in which he resides." It was asserted by opponents of the law that its object was the extinction of the German language in Wisconsin, and that its enforcement would involve tyrannical interference with the parochial schools maintained by the Catholics and the Lutherans, and with the right of parents to control the education of their children. Some of the friends of the law advocated it in a spirit not calculated to allay the fears of those who opposed it. While there were Democrats who conceded that the law was a good thing, there were many Republicans, some of them conspicuous in the councils of the party, who expressed the opinion that in the shape in which it stood on the statute book, the law was not worth fighting for, and that it would be the part of wisdom to avoid making it an issue. But other counsels prevailed. When the Republican State Convention met, on August 20, 1890, it renominated Governor Hoard by acclamation. The platform disclaimed any purpose to interfere with private and parochial schools, but affirmed the right and duty of the State to enact laws that would guarantee to all children sufficient instruction in the legal language of the State to enable them to read and write the same. It pronounced "the compulsory education law passed by the last Legislature" wise and humane in all its essential purposes, and opposed its repeal, but asserted the right of the parent or guardian to select the time of the year, and the place, whether

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public or private, and wherever located, in which his child or ward shall receive instruction, and pledged the party to modify the law to conform to these declarations. The platform also declared unalterable opposition to any union of Church and State. Governor Hoard had signed the Bennett law, and heartily approved of its provisions, believing it to be "beneficent, progressive, patriotic and civilizing in its effects." He said, in an interview, the day after his nomination:

"As to the Bennett law itself I have at no time maintained that it is an absolutely perfect piece of legislation. I have admitted from the first that certain changes would improve the measure. I am pleased, therefore, that the platform favors eliminating from the law such features as may justly be held to interfere with the conscience or the individual rights of any citizen. I am also in hearty accord with that portion of the platform which disclaims any purpose on the part of the Republican party to interfere in any manner with the private and parochial schools of the State."

The Democratic State Convention met in Milwaukee August 28, 1890, to nominate candidates for the State offices, and although the Democrats had been defeated at every State election since Taylor's triumph over Washburn in 1873, there was no lack of aspirants for the nomination. Those who entered the race in earnest were George W. Peck of Milwaukee, J. H. Knight of Ashland, John Winans of Rock, Gabriel Bouck of Winnebago, and W. F. Bailey of Eau Claire. These gentlemen were all bright and shining lights in the Democratic party. Bouck and Winans had been members of Congress, and were regarded as the representatives of the old régimé, under whose lead the State ticket had met with many disastrous defeats. They were now to be relegated to back seats. Knight was comparatively a new man in politics, but well known to the business world. Peck had been much talked about in one way and another all his life, and he was put forth as the exponent of the younger element of his party. He was born September 28, 1840, at Henderson, Jefferson county, N. Y., and came to Wisconsin in 1843. He had been a resident of Whitewater, Jefferson, Madison, Ripon, La Crosse and Milwaukee. He had a common school education, was a printer by trade and an edi-

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tor for the pleasure which he derived from that occupation. He enlisted in the Fourth Wisconsin cavalry in 1863, and served one year with his regiment on the Rio Grande, Tex., after the war was over. He was engaged in numerous newspaper enterprises both before and after the war, with varying success, until he removed to Milwaukee with The Sun. He then began to publish a series of humorous sketches under the taking title of "Peck's Bad Boy," which grew to be immensely popular with a certain class of readers, and the paper became a fine financial success. The "Bad Boy" was printed in book form, and was dramatized and put upon the stage. The Sun grew like Jonah's gourd, which is said to have sprung up in one night, and the popularity of its editor grew apace. He had evidently adopted for his motto one of Ella Wheeler Wilcox's catchy sayings—"Laugh and the world laughs with you, weep and you weep alone," and Mr. Peck devoted all his energies to making people laugh. The Milwaukee Democrats took him up as their candidate for mayor, and he was elected by over 6,000 majority. Hundreds of young Republicans voted for him, because they liked him, and they wanted to see what he would do. An exciting and exasperating educational and semi-religious question was injected into the campaign, which gave Peck many votes. As soon as he was elected mayor, the leaders of the party saw that the same momentous question that helped to make him mayor would make him a popular and available candidate for Governor, and they began to lay plans to bring about his nomination. It was a logical argument that the same religious prejudice which overthrew the heavy Republican majority in Milwaukee would overthrow the party in the State, and this view proved to be correct. The Republicans had thrown down the gauntlet on the school question eight days before, and the Democrats promptly took it up. Then Mr. Peck's case was adroitly and wisely managed by his supporters in the convention. The two old stagers, Bouck and Winans, one representing the southern and the other the northern section of the State, though both representing the same faction of the party, were encouraged to keep in the field so as to divide the vote that was opposed to Peck. Next they selected a man of high character, who stood as a typical representative of

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D. M. Maxon

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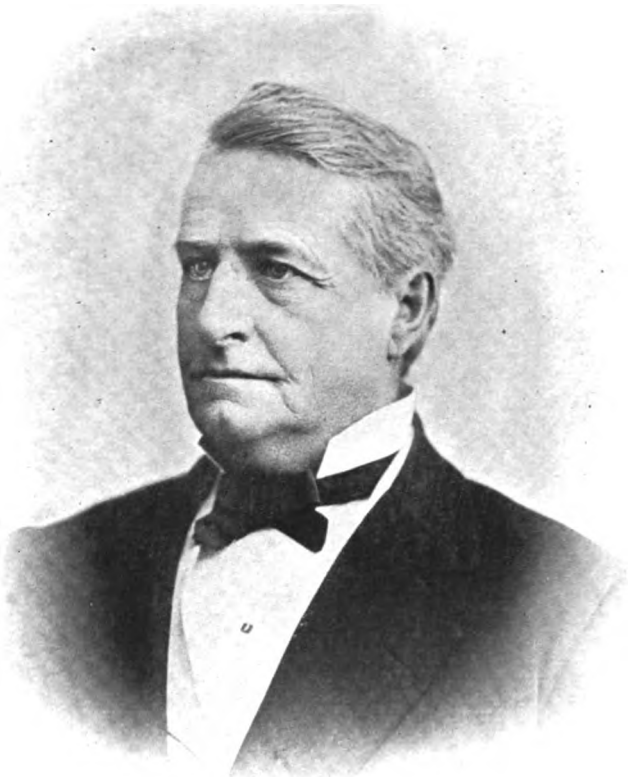

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what was decent in politics and clean in public and private life, to present Peck's name to the convention, in the person of Mr. John Johnston. A hearty endorsement coming from such a respectable source had great weight with the delegates, and to that timely and plausible speech the nomination of Peck was mostly due. Mr. Johnston said in part:

"The gentleman whose name I am to propose, having lived in Wisconsin for forty-seven years, needs little more of an introduction than the mention of his name. To almost every inhabitant of the State he is well known by reputation, but still a man's public reputation often gives but a poor idea of his general character. * * * For years Abraham Lincoln was known only as a joker, till the necessities of the times brought him to the front. * * * The gentleman I have in mind is known to the people of this great nation chiefly as a humorous and cheerful writer, as one who tried to throw sunshine and happiness around the path of hardship and toil, yet his own life has been no idle holiday. * * * Twelve years ago he moved to Milwaukee, where he endeared himself to all by his courteous manners, his unselfish liberality, his public spirit and his ability, both as a man of business and as a writer, and last spring he was called out by his fellow-citizens and raised to the highest office in their gift by a vote of such magnitude as threw consternation into the ranks of our opponents from Maine to California, receiving, as he did, a majority of 6,800 votes in our city which six months before had given Benjamin Harrison a majority of 2,000. * * * The only education he ever received was in the common school, and it is not surprising that our common school system occupies a warm place in his affections. He believes in all the children of the State being taught English, but he does not believe in trying to accomplish this by legislative enactment. While he believes in compulsory education, he believes coercive measures in the details of education are bad statesmanship and impossible of accomplishment. At the same time he has no desire to harass or annoy those who, by their private means, have established other schools. He recognizes the fact that private schools have been and are a wonderful assistance to the public schools in promoting the general education of the children of the State, by

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providing accommodations for thousands for whom there is no room in the public schools. During the forty years of his observation in Wisconsin he has seen the English language going forth conquering and to conquer, and whatever may have been desirable twenty-five years ago, there can be no need now of whipping English into children by the legislative lash. The thousands of children who play in the streets of Milwaukee to-day conduct their games in English, where twenty years ago they were carried on in German. * * * The Republican papers have tried to make dissensions in our ranks by dividing us into kids and fossils. I do not know whether our candidate be a kid or fossil. I do know, however, that he has all the wisdom and conservatism of the fossil, and all the vigor and energy of the kid, and I expect both will support him. * * * I beg, gentlemen, to propose for your nomination that public-spirited citizen, that genial gentleman, that true friend, that honest man, George W. Peck."

Mr. Peck was nominated on the sixth formal ballot, the vote standing, Peck, 227; Bouck, 19; Knight, 47; Winans, 17. The main plank in the Democratic platform related to the educational issue, and was adroitly drawn to meet the necessities of the situation, as follows:

"Favoring laws providing for the compulsory attendance at school of all children, we believe that the school law in force prior to the passage of the Bennett law guaranteed to all the children of the State the opportunity of education, and in this essential feature was stronger than the Bennett law. The underlying principle of the Bennett law is needless interference with parental rights and liberty of conscience. The provisions for its enforcement place the accused at the mercy of the school directors, and deny his right to a trial by jury. To justify this tyrannical invasion of individual and constitutional rights, the shallow plea of defense of the English language is advanced. The history of this State, largely peopled with foreign-born citizens, demonstrates the fact that natural causes and the necessities of the situation are advancing the growth of the English language to the greatest possible extent. We therefore denounce that law as unnecessary, unwise, unconstitutional, un-American and undemocratic, and demand its repeal."

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The Bennett law issue proved disastrous to the Republican party, as many loyal Republicans had predicted. It gave the control of the State to the Democrats for four years, placed William F. Vilas and John L. Mitchell in the United States Senate in place of Philetus Sawyer and John C. Spooner, and enabled the Democrats in 1892 to cast the electoral vote of Wisconsin for the Democratic candidate for President, the first time since 1856.

The Milwaukee Republican City Convention that met February 17, 1892, put forth the following declaration:

"The settlement of the unfortunate question which was made an issue at the last election should be a source of congratulation to all good citizens. The issue was unwarranted by existing conditions, and unwise from any standpoint it may be viewed. It gave offense to a large, intelligent and patriotic portion of our people, who, being naturally jealous of their religious liberties and private rights, took alarm at the enactment of a law which they believed to have been aimed at them as a class."

On May 5, of the same year, the Republican State Convention adopted a platform containing the following plank:

"We regard the education issue of 1890 as permanently settled in this State, not to be renewed in any of its phases by the Republican party or under its auspices; and, this being true, we deprecate and denounce, upon considerations higher than party, as harmful in tendency, any further agitation of the subject, or any attempt by any one, or by any party, for any purpose, to create or foster division among our people by reason of it upon lines of religion, education or nativity."

As Governor Peck had swept the State in 1890 by a larger majority than had ever been cast for any Republican candidate, and as his administration had been satisfactory to his party, his nomination was a foregone conclusion, and the Republicans put forth their strongest man against him. They nominated as their candidate for Governor Colonel John C. Spooner, who had just completed his first term in the United States Senate. This nomination was conferred upon Senator Spooner, much against his will, but he was too good a soldier not to obey the call of his party. It was a forlorn hope from the start, the prejudice against

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the party on account of the Bennett law had not yet been obliterated, but Col. Spooner immediately went upon the stump and made it a campaign of education, not only as to the position of his party upon State affairs—the delicate and dangerous educational question included—but discussed national matters with masterly ability and convincing eloquence. The result was that Peck's majority of 28,000 over Hoard in 1890 was cut down to 7,700, and many dissatisfied voters had been persuaded to return to the Republican fold. His splendid campaign work bore fruit two years later when Upham's plurality was over 53,000.

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Eno H. Pelle

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CHAPTER XXI.

THE TREASURY CASES—TWO APPORTIONMENT ACTS THAT FAILED.

During Governor Peck's first administration suits were brought against the former State Treasurers to recover the money which they had received as interest on deposits in the different banks of the State. For many years it had been the practice of the State Treasurers to make deposits of the State's money in banks for safe keeping, and convenience in transacting business, and the interest paid them by the banks for the use of such public funds the Treasurers had always appropriated to their own use. The amounts thus annually received by the Treasurers were very large and made the office of State Treasurer exceedingly remunerative. At first nothing was paid to the Treasurers by the banks; next the banks paid a gratuity, or what Byron Kilbourn would have called "a pecuniary compliment," according to the amount of money deposited, and corresponding to the liberality of the banker. This money was usually sent to the Treasurer in a letter marked "personal" and went into the private pocket of him to whom it was addressed, and no account of it ever appeared on the books of the Treasurer's office. As to the propriety of these acts of the State Treasurers, Chief Justice Lyon of the Supreme court, in deciding the case, said:

"These deposits were made in the name of the Treasurer, in his official capacity as such. No time of credit was given upon them, but they were payable whenever required by the Treasurer, and they could only be drawn on the official draft or check of the Treasurer. They were made in accordance with the usual and long-continued course of business in that department of the State government. They were not made primarily for the purposes of gain or profit to the Treasurer, but because the exigencies of the business of the department, and the reasonable convenience of

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creditors of the State, rendered it almost absolutely necessary that State funds should be kept in different portions of the State, and in the cities of Chicago and New York, against which the Treasurer might draw to pay appropriations. Such methods had prevailed, and deposits had been made in banks, and drawn against, by all the different State Treasurers, for thirty years or more before the execution of the bond in suit. A large portion of the public funds were thus kept on deposit during that whole period, and disbursed through the instrumentality of tens of thousands—even of hundreds of thousands—of drafts or checks drawn by the respective Treasurers in their name of office against such deposits. To say of any adult citizen residing in the State during any considerable portion of that period, especially if he was a member of the Legislature, that he did not know of such course of business, would be an impeachment of his intelligence. Under these circumstances it is reasonable to hold that the State Treasurers were justified in transacting the business of their department as they did transact it, and as such business is almost invariably conducted in the commercial world, unless those methods were prohibited by some statute of the State."

Later on there was an agreement or understanding, verbal or written, between the bankers and the Treasurer as to the amount of interest to be paid and the manner of its payment. When George W. Peck was nominated for Governor the Democratic party promised that if the people placed it in power it would bring suits against all these ex-Treasurers and their bondsmen to recover this interest. The suits were brought according to promise, and after a hotly contested litigation in the courts, judgment was obtained against Messrs. McFetridge, Guenther, Harshaw, Baetz and Kuehn for a sum aggregating $725,000.

This was considered the crowning glory of the Peck administration. Great credit was accorded to J. L. O'Connor, the Attorney General, for the able manner in which he pressed those suits to a successful issue.

A majority of the Legislature which met in 1891 was Democratic. A bill was introduced in that Legislature authorizing the Commissioners of Public Lands, to-wit, the Treasurer, Secretary of State and Attorney General, with the approval of the Governor,

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to settle and compromise the judgments. The law was passed, but nothing was ever done under it.

At the close of the Peck administration there was $52,000 still due on the McFetridge judgment, and $228,000 on the judgment against Kuehn and Baetz. By an act of the Legislature of 1895 a bill was passed releasing the full amounts of the Kuehn and Baetz judgments, and the balance of $52,000 on the McFetridge judgment. The bill was supported by both Democrats and Republicans. The cases against Kuehn and Baetz were brought on for trial at the first term of the court, and judgment rendered in favor of the State. From that judgment they appealed to the Supreme Court, and the cases were ready for argument when the Peck administration went out of office. They never were brought to trial in the Supreme Court. Attorney General Mylrea was directed by the Legislature to go into court and dismiss the cases, which he did.

It is proper to say that the practice of taking interest on deposits was not confined to the Republican Treasurers. A Democrat had control of the State Treasury for two successive terms under Governor Taylor, beginning in 1873, but he pocketed the interest the same as his predecessor had done. However, he formally reported the fact to the Legislature.

In 1890, on the issues growing out of the controversy over the so-called Bennett law, the Democratic party carried the State of Wisconsin by upwards of 28,000 plurality, electing its nominees for State officers, and a majority of both houses of the Legislature. This enabled that party to elect a United States Senator at the legislative session of 1891 in the person of W. F. Vilas, who succeeded John C. Spooner. The census having been taken in 1890, when the Legislature convened, the duty imposed upon it by the constitution was to "apportion and district anew the members of the Senate and Assembly, according to the number of inhabitants, excluding Indians not taxed, and soldiers and officers of the United States army and navy." (Sec. 3, Art. 4, Constitution of Wisconsin.) "Such districts to be bounded by county, precinct, town, or ward lines, to consist of contiguous territory, and be as compact in form as practicable." (Sec. 4, Art. 4, Constitution of Wisconsin.)

The census of 1890 disclosed the fact that Wisconsin had a

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population of 1,686,880. As the Assembly is composed of 100 members and the Senate of 33, the unit of representation in the Senate for the new apportionment was 51,117; in the Assembly, 16,868.

The Democratic newspapers had frequently complained that the Republicans, in the making of the various apportionments for each State and United States census, had treated the Democrats unfairly. This complaint on the part of the Democrats was briefly and intelligently stated by Mr. John Johnston in his speech nominating George W. Peck for Governor in the Democratic State Convention which assembled at Milwaukee August 28, 1890. He said:

"The arrogance and hypocrisy of the Republican party have seldom been better illustrated than in the outcry they have raised about the disfranchisement of the colored voters of the South, and the need of a force bill, while they have themselves disfranchised two out of every three of the Democratic voters of Wisconsin by the outrageous way in which they have gerrymandered the State. The 176,000 voters in Wisconsin who voted for Harrison have seven representatives in Congress, while the 155,000 who voted for Cleveland have only two members; that is, every 25,000 Republican votes has a member in Congress, while it takes 77,500 Democratic votes to send one."

But no attempt was ever made prior to the date hereinafter referred to, to test the validity of any of the legislative apportionments, the opinion generally prevailing that there was no remedy in the courts in such cases. In many cases the Democrats had been treated with such fairness, notably in 1882, that there was substantially no opposition to the bill providing for such apportionment; the act of 1882 having passed the Senate unanimously and the Assembly by ayes, 51; nays, 25, a majority of the Democrats voting in the affirmative.

It must, in fairness, be admitted that these apportionments were not always models to be introduced into equity practice; the Republicans, however, were never forced to the hard necessity that the Democrats were in their endeavor to retain the control of the Legislature, the Democratic votes being bunched, as it were, on the lake shore section of the State, while the Republican vote

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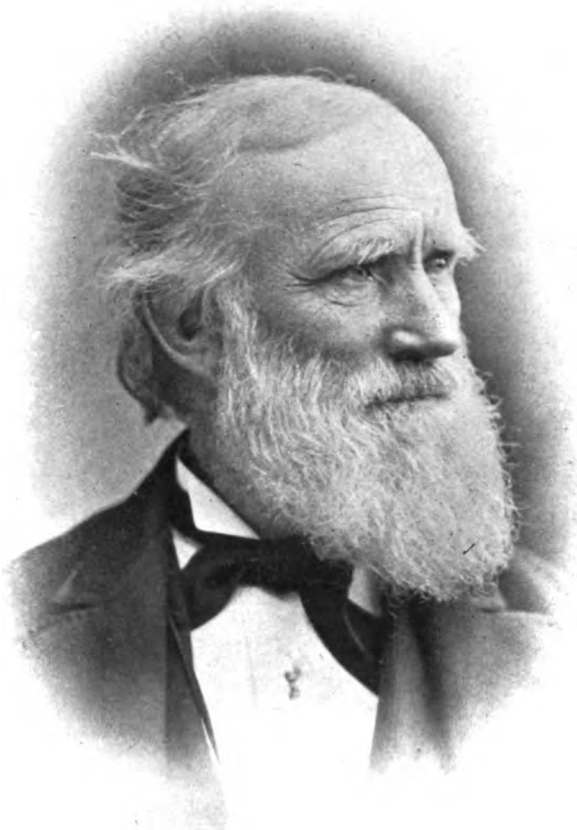

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was so distributed over the western and northern sections as to enable the Republicans to carry a majority of the counties and legislative districts. How to make an apportionment to retain the control of the State, became a serious problem for the Democrats. Instead of putting districts together, as they formerly had been, with some reference to community of interest, convenience and population, the Democrats found themselves compelled to divide the State into districts of all sorts of shapes without reference to the conditions heretofore named.

In addition to disregarding geography in the make-up of the districts comparatively little attention was paid to population. Brown county, for example, was made a senatorial district with a population of 12,676 less than the unit of representation; Outagamie county, with a population of 13,350 less; La Crosse county, with a population of 12,316 less than the unit of representation. It is probably unnecessary to state that it was expected that the Democrats would control all the districts named. On the other hand, the districts which it was expected that the Republicans would control were made with a population very much in excess of the unit of representation, i. e., the Fifth senatorial district of Milwaukee county contained a population of 16,975 in excess of the unit of representation; the Seventeenth Senatorial district, parts of Walworth and Rock counties, a population of 10,343 in excess of the unit of representation; the Twenty-seventh Senatorial district, Columbia, Sauk and Marquette counties, a population of 17,484 in excess of the unit of representation.

The same relative disproportion and disregard of population was pursued in the making of the Assembly districts. A few illustrative cases will suffice. The Assembly districts of Waushara and Adams counties had a population in excess of the unit of representation of 6,044; Chippewa county 8,275 in excess of the unit of representation; one district of Walworth and a part of Rock county had a population of 7,173 in excess of the unit of representation. La Crosse county, with a population of 38,801 inhabitants, was given one member of the Assembly only, while Manitowoc county, with a population of 37,831, 970 less, was given three members of the Assembly.

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The foregoing examples will sufficiently illustrate the inequality in population of which the Republicans complained. Many efforts were made by individual members to modify the provisions of the proposed bill. All of these proved ineffectual. The bill was prepared outside of the legislative committee. The committee met and elected Wendell A. Anderson of La Crosse clerk. After some days the committee were called together again by the chairman, and the clerk reported the bill which had been agreed on, and without any time or opportunity for examination the majority ordered it reported back for passage.

The passage of this measure naturally aroused indignation among the Republicans of the State, and the press of that political faith were almost unanimous in condemning it. Many of the Democrats did not approve of the action of their party. Those who did, justified it on the ground that they were treating the Republicans as the Republicans treated them. Mr. A. J. Turner of Portage, who was well acquainted with the history of the constitutional convention and the making of the legislative apportionments, prepared from time to time, and printed in the local press, short statements of the unfairness of the apportionment, and arguments to show that the same was unconstitutional. These were subsequently elaborated, and in the summer of 1891, were published in pamphlet form under the title of the "Gerrymander of Wisconsin." The document made a pamphlet of twenty-six pages. It was a very exhaustive review of the subject, and, coming from a layman, was highly complimented by the legal fraternity. C. E. Estabrook, who was Attorney-General in 1887-90, contended that the reapportionment was unconstitutional, because it deprived numerous citizens of their public rights, and declared that the proper remedy was to apply to the Supreme Court for an injunction to restrain the Secretary of State from giving notice of election at the next election according to the provisions of Chapter 482 of the Laws of 1891, being the so-called "Gerrymander," for convenience designated as Gerrymander No. 1.

As soon as Senator Spooner returned from his duties at Washington he took the leading part in conducting proceedings for the overthrow of the apportionment. In beginning these proceedings

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the attorneys who appeared for the Republicans were obliged to seek out a new course of procedure. How to get into court became an important question. It was thought wisest to have some public bodies in the districts most affected, direct that proceedings be begun. For that purpose the Board of Supervisors of Adams county passed a resolution in the annual session in November, 1891, directing the district attorney of that county to institute proceedings in the Supreme Court to test the validity of the Apportionment law. A substantially similar resolution was passed by the Board of Supervisors of St. Croix county, the intention being first to attempt to test the validity of the law by application for an injunction, and if that failed, then to apply for a writ of mandamus. The rules of the Supreme Court required, in a proceeding of the nature the Republicans desired to commence, that application must first be made to the Attorney General to make the necessary petition to the Court for leave to sue. This was done and the Attorney General, James L. O'Connor, signed and filed the necessary petition, and on February 2, 1892, leave was granted the Attorney General to bring the action. The necessary papers had been prepared by Messrs. Spooner and Estabrook, and the action was promptly commenced. Mr. George W. Bird, of Madison, a leading Democratic lawyer of the State, was employed as associate counsel. The action was commenced in the name of "the State of Wisconsin ex rel. vs. Cunningham." In due time, Gen. Edward S. Bragg appeared for the Secretary of State and moved to dismiss the information for the following reasons:

"1. The complaint states no facts showing the relator to have any interest in the subject matter thereof which entitles him to a standing in court to petition for relief from grievances real or supposed.

"2. It appears upon the face of the complaint that this court has no jurisdiction of the subject matter thereof; and its recital and averments state no wrongs, real or supposed, cognizable in a court of law or equity.

"3. That the complaint of the relator fails to show any violation of the Constitution of Wisconsin, either in letter or spirit, in the bill or act apportioning the members of the Legislature for the

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State of Wisconsin upon the federal enumeration of population of 1890.—81 Wis., p. 447."

The case was called for argument before the Supreme Court on the 9th day of February, 1892. Never before was seen such a crowd in the Supreme Court room as gathered there that morning to hear the opening of "the great Gerrymander case." The arguments continued through two days, the first part being on the question of the jurisdiction of the Court. On the 22d day of March, 1892, the Supreme Court announced its decision, in which the act in question was held unconstitutional. Three opinions were filed in the case, the principal opinion being by Mr. Chief Justice Orton, a Democrat in politics, concurring the opinions filed by Chief Justice Lyon, a Republican, and Mr. Justice Pinney, a Democrat. All agreed in holding the act unconstitutional; but different views or reasons were presented for the same by the justices in their several opinions. Mr. Justice Winslow, a Democrat, appointed to the bench by Governor Peck to succeed the late Justice Taylor, concurred in the opinion of Mr. Justice Pinney. The case is reported in 81 Wis., pp. 440 to 532. Eight pages of that report are devoted to a summary of the lucid and convincing argument of Senator Spooner, which was at once recognized among the legal fraternity as a contribution to the permanent literature of American constitutional law. One of the striking passages of his argument dealt with the necessity, in a constitutional apportionment, of the observance of county lines. He said:

"The act is unconstitutional and, as a whole, null and void, for the reason that in at least twenty-five instances it violates that portion of Section 4, Article IV, of the Constitution which requires 'such districts to be bounded by county, precinct, town or ward lines, to consist of contiguous territory, and to be in as compact form as practicable.' It is absolutely impossible for the Court to give any effect to the word 'county' where it occurs in said section, unless it is construed to mean that wherever the town, ward or precinct lines, or all of them, forming the boundary of an Assembly district, fall upon or become coincident with a county line, the latter shall be a boundary line which cannot be broken or transcended. This construction is in entire harmony with the views of the fram-

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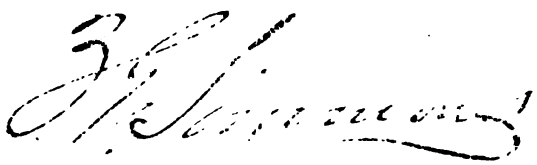

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ers of the Constitution, so far as those views are discoverable from the scant report of the debates. But they afforded the strongest proof of what they meant by what they did. They made the first apportionment themselves, and in it there is no dismemberment of counties, no breaking of county lines; nor was there in the apportionment contained in the rejected constitution. Great weight is to be given to the practical and contemporaneous construction of the Constitution."

Justice Orton, in his opinion, declared his conviction that "the breaking up of the lines and boundaries of counties by the new Assembly districts must have been intentional," and added: "It was not necessary in a single instance, and there is no possible margin for any legislative discretion. This is a most important restriction on the power of the Legislature to make an apportionment. The people have a commendable pride in their own counties, and have more or less a common feeling and interests, and participate together in all their county affairs. They have a right to be represented by their own members of the Legislature, and the members themselves can better represent them and promote and protect their interests. They know each other, and have closer relations with each other. * * * That most dangerous doctrine, that these and other restrictions upon the power of the Legislature are merely declaratory, and not mandatory, should not be encouraged even to the extent of discussing the question. The Convention, in making a constitution, had a higher duty to perform than to give the Legislature advice."

In the decision of the Court, the points decided, as stated by the official reporter, were:

"The original prerogative jurisdiction of this Court extends to an action brought by the Attorney-General in the name of the State to enjoin the Secretary of State from issuing or publishing notices of election of members of the Legislature under an apportionment act alleged to be invalid. Such an action involves matters publici juris—the preservation of a constitutional Legislature and of the political rights and liberties of the people.

"The official acts of the Secretary of State in issuing and publishing such notices of election are purely ministerial, and hence

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may be controlled either by mandamus or injunctions, as the exigencies of the case may require.

"Since it cannot be determined whether the injunction should be refused or granted without first determining whether the apportionment act in question is or is not a valid law, the Court has jurisdiction to determine the question of the constitutionality of the act.

"The power to 'apportion and district anew the members of the Senate and Assembly,' vested in the Legislature by Section 3, Article IV., Constitution, is strictly a legislative power; and an apportionment act which violates the constitutional requirements may be declared void by the courts.

"Under Section 4, Article IV., Constitution, requiring Assembly districts to be 'bounded by county, precinct, town or ward lines,' the county is the primary territorial unit of representation in the Assembly, and the integrity of county lines must be preserved; so that no assembly district can be made to consist of one, or more than one county and a fraction of another county, or to include fractions of two or more counties.

"In the formation of Assembly districts in a county entitled to more than one member, the integrity of towns and wards must be preserved and the districts must each consist of contiguous territory, and must be as compact and as nearly equal in population as practicable.

"Under Section 5, Article IV., Constitution, Senate districts must each consist of entire Assembly districts and be formed of contiguous territory; and under Section 3 they must be as nearly equal in population as other constitutional requirements will permit."

In other words, it was decided:

First—That the Court had jurisdiction.

Second—That the act of the Secretary of State in giving notice of election was ministerial and hence subject to control by the Court.

Third—That the act in question was unconstitutional, because county lines were broken in the formation of Assembly districts.

Fourth—That in the formation of Senate and Assembly dis-

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tricts, they must be as nearly equal in population as the constitutional requirements will permit.

The announcement of the decision of the Court was well received by a majority of the people of the State. They felt that a way had now been found not only to get rid of the gerrymander of 1891, but to prevent similar outrages by any party in the future. The decision attracted attention outside of Wisconsin as well as within its limits, and inspired discussion in political and legal circles. That the courts could and would set aside a gerrymander was a new thing in the jurisprudence of the country; but it was generally accepted as a wholesome restraint upon Legislatures. Proceedings of a somewhat similar nature were subsequently commenced in several States, and the decision of our court upon the point in question was generally followed. It became a leading case in the jurisprudence of our country. Its wholesomeness and its righteousness cannot be questioned, and the persons who thought out and conducted the proceedings which forced this decision, rendered a very great public service not only to the people of Wisconsin, but to the people of the United States.

The Court having held the Apportionment law unconstitutional, Governor Peck found himself compelled to call an extra session of the Legislature to pass another act of apportionment, or to elect the coming Legislature in the fall of 1892 under the legislative apportionment passed by the Republicans in 1877. By this time this apportionment had become unequal owing to the change in population and the rapid growth of certain sections of the State; and it had been naturally made so as to give the Republicans such advantages as are permitted by the terms of the constitution. Hence, in accordance with what seemed to be public sentiment, of both Democrats and Republicans, Governor Peck, on the 1st day of June, called a special session of the Legislature to meet on the 28th day of June, 1892, to apportion and re-district the State into Assembly and Senate districts. The Legislature convened at the time appointed. The soreness which had been engendered by the success of the Republicans in the courts had not sufficient time to be alleviated, hence the Democratic managers, pursuing much the same policy they had pursued

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in the making of the former apportionment bill, gave little heed to the desire of the minority; and after three days of deliberation reported the bill which was passed, adjourning on the 1st day of July, 1892. In making this apportionment, profiting by the experiences in the former suit, the Democrats did not break county lines, but the inequality of population was still very great in the different districts; and the Republicans determined to make another test in the Court, basing their complaint upon the inequality of the population in the several districts. The papers were prepared in proper form and submitted to the Attorney-General, Mr. J. L. O'Connor, with a request that he bring the action, as he had in the former case. This he declined to do, and reported his reasons to the Court in writing, as follows:

"To the Honorable, the Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin: The consideration I have been able to give the petition of Charles F. Lamb to bring action in the Supreme Court to test the validity of the Apportionment act passed at the special session of the Legislature, had led me to the conclusion that said act cannot be rightfully challenged because of its unconstitutionality. Moreover, if I regarded the doubt of the unconstitutionality of the law as sufficiently serious to justify an action, there are other important public reasons why, in my judgment, the action should not be instituted at this time, and which are sufficient to cause me to decline. I therefore deem it my duty to decline to commence said suit in this Court to test the validity of the apportionment act passed at the special session of the Legislature upon the relation of Charles F. Lamb, as petitioner or otherwise, and must refuse my consent to have such suit brought or conducted in the name of my office as Attorney-General. Most respectfully yours,

"J. L. O'CONNOR, Attorney-General."

At the time the Attorney-General signed the necessary paper to bring the first action, he was highly commended by the Democratic press for the judicial fairness with which he treated his political opponents. At that time it was the prevailing belief among the Democrats that the Court would not take jurisdiction on the action, and that the attempt of the Republicans must result in failure,

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[illegible] making of the former apportionment bill, gave little heed to the desire of the minority; and after three days of deliberation reported the bill which was passed, beginning on the 1st day of July, 1882. In mission, this apportionment, profiting by the experiences in the former suit, the Democrats did not break county lines, but the inequality of population was still very great in the different districts, and the Republicans determined to make another test in the Court, basing their complaint upon the inequality of the population in the several districts. The papers were prepared in proper form and submitted to the Attorney-General, Mr. J. L. O'Connor, with a request that he bring the action, as he had in the [illegible] case. The [illegible] declined to do, and reported his reasons [illegible] in writing as follows:

"[illegible] the Supreme Court of the State of Wis-[illegible] ation I have been able to give the petition of [illegible] bring action in the Supreme Court to test the [illegible] rtionment act passed at the special session of the Legislature [illegible] led me to the conclusion that said act cannot be rightfully [illegible] nged because of its unconstitutionality. Moreover, it [illegible] the doubt of the unconstitutionality of the law as suff[illegible] ciently serious to justify an action, there are other important public [illegible] s why, in my judgment, the action should not be instituted [illegible] this time, and which are sufficient to cause me to decline [illegible] I therefore deem it my duty to decline to commence said [illegible] s Court to test the validity of the apportionment act passed [illegible] ecial session of the Legislature upon the relation of Charles [illegible] b, as petitioner or otherwise, and must refuse my consent [illegible] such suit brought or conducted in the name of my office as [illegible] ey-General. Most respectfully yours,

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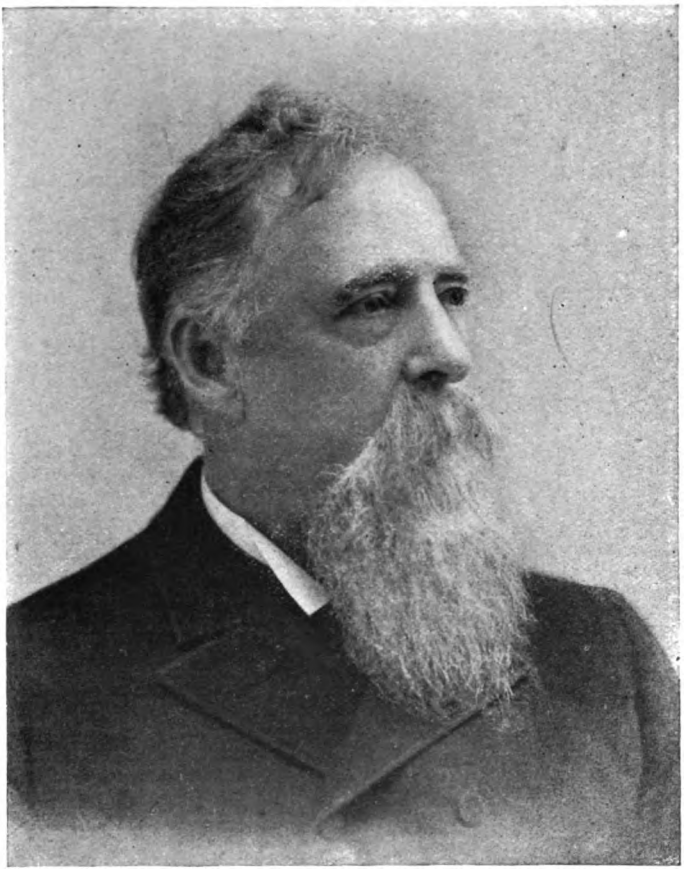

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When the petition for them to bring the second suit was presented, the Court had determined that it had jurisdiction.

Thereupon the attorneys for the petitioner, Charles F. Lamb, applied to the Supreme Court on behalf of Mr. Lamb, to bring the action without leave of the Attorney-General. And after examination of the petition and papers presented, leave was granted by the Court to the petitioner to bring the action, unless the Attorney-General commenced the same before August 19, 1892. Some idea of the inequalities of population of which the Republicans complained can be gathered from the following:

The unit of representation was the same as in the former law. In the making of the Senatorial districts the Fourth senatorial district of Milwaukee had a population of 20,385 less than the unit of representation; the Ninth, Green Lake, Juneau, Marquette and Waushara counties had a population of 11,239 in excess of the unit of representation; the Seventeenth district, the counties of Green and Rock, had a population of 14,835 in excess of the unit of representation; the Thirty-first Senatorial district, a population of 13,002 in excess of the unit of representation. In Assembly districts, Vernon county had a population of 8,243 in excess of the unit of representation; while Langlade county had a population 7,403 less than the unit of representation. The counties of Buffalo and Pepin were made Assembly districts with a population of 6,061 in excess of the unit of representation. Florence, Forest and Oneida counties were made Assembly districts with a population of 8,242 less than the unit of representation. In the city of Milwaukee, the Second and Sixth wards were made Assembly districts with a population of 6,837 in excess of the unit of representation, while the Fourteenth ward was made an Assembly district with a population of 5,761 less than the unit of representation. This will sufficiently illustrate the inequalities in population of which the Republicans justly complained. The examples of such inequalities are by no means limited to the number given. In the subdivision of counties into Senate and Assembly districts many ill-shaped districts were formed.

In addition to alleging the inequalities above set forth, the complaint contained the usual formal allegations which were

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incorporated in the former one. The action in this case being entitled State ex rel. Lamb vs. Cunningham, due service was made upon the Secretary of State. The same counsel which appeared for the State appeared in this action, and in addition thereto, Mr. George G. Green, of Green Bay; and Senator William F. Vilas appeared for the defendant Secretary of State, taking a conspicuous part, and making a brilliant fight, in which, however, he was overmatched, owing to the inherent weakness of his case and the ability with which the cause of the people, represented by the relator, was championed by Senator Spooner.

On September 8, 1892, the defendant demurred to the complaint on the grounds: (1) "That the Court has no jurisdiction of the subject of the action; (2) that the plaintiff has not the right to sue in the name of the State upon the alleged cause of action; (3) that there is a defect of parties, in that the Attorney-General of the State of Wisconsin is the officer required by the law to prosecute the action aforesaid, and no cause of action is shown to exist in favor of the said relator." On the same day the Attorney-General, for the defendant, served upon the attorney for the relator a notice to the effect:

"Please take notice, that on Tuesday, the 20th day of September, inst., at the opening of the Court on that day, or as soon thereafter as the counsel can be heard, the above named defendant, by the undersigned, his attorney, will move the said Supreme Court, at the Supreme Court room, in the capitol at Madison, for an order vacating and setting aside the order of said Court granted ex parte on the 9th day of August, 1892, giving leave to the said relator to commence and prosecute this action—reference being had thereto for its terms—and dismissing this action, for such other or further order as may be proper; and also to vacate and set aside said order of August 9, 1892, giving the relator leave to commence and prosecute this action, and to dismiss the same."

On September 8, 1892, the plaintiff served notice upon the attorney for the defendant to the effect that said relator would apply to the Court on September 13, 1892, at the opening of the Court on that day, or as soon thereafter as counsel could be heard, for an order striking out as frivolous the said demurrer of the defendant

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herein, and directing judgment in favor of the plaintiff as prayed for in said complaint. On September 9, 1892, the Court set down said motions respectively, and said demurrer, for full argument and consideration on its merits, for September 20, 1892, and the same were thereupon argued accordingly. 83 Wis., p. 94."

On September 27, 1892, the Court announced its decision overruling the demurrer to the complaint, Justice Winslow dissenting.

The point urged by Senator Vilas on the argument of the demurrer, was that a private citizen cannot, against the judgment and decision of the Attorney-General, prosecute in public right a suit in the name of the State to obtain an injunction to interrupt the legal administration of the laws of the State. In attempting to justify the granting of disproportionate power in the Legislature to the voters of a small Milwaukee district, Senator Vilas said, among other things: "Its [the Fourth district's] taxable property is twice that of any other Senate district in Milwaukee county, with a single exception, and the average taxable property of all the Senate districts is not much more than about two-thirds of that of the Fourth Senatorial district." Referring to this, Senator Spooner in his argument observed: "It is men whose interests the Constitution seeks to guard. I heard with amazement the admission made by distinguished counsel, that in creating this Senate district with 30,000 population in the city of Milwaukee, the Legislature, in the exercise of its discretion, took in its wealth. * * * The Constitution was protecting the interests of men, not property. It laid down a rule of population, thank God, not dollars. This is a government of men, not money." As the first gerrymander trial had seemed to resolve itself into an intellectual duel between Senator Spooner and General Bragg, so the second gerrymander trial assumed the appearance of an intellectual duel between Senator Spooner and Senator Vilas. And in each case the side on which Senator Spooner fought was victorious, because he fought well and on the right side.

In the second gerrymander case, the Court decided:

"1. The power of the Supreme Court, under Section 3, Article VII, Constitution, to issue its writ of injunction is in no way

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dependent upon the volition of the Attorney-General; and his refusal to bring the suit or to consent thereto will not prevent the Court from taking jurisdiction upon the relation of a private citizen in the name of the State.

"2. In an action to enjoin the Secretary of State from giving notices of election of members of the Legislature under an apportionment act alleged to be in violation of the Constitution, the question as to the validity of such an act is a judicial and not a political question.

"3. Under Section 3, Article IV, Constitution, an apportionment must be made 'according to the number of inhabitants' as shown by the last previous Federal or State census, and the Legislature may not act upon the theory that certain counties contain more or fewer inhabitants than such census shows; nor can the standard of population be disregarded and the apportionment be based upon considerations as to the wealth of certain localities, the character of their population and business interests, or differences in the rapidity of the increase of population.

"4. The question being as to the validity of an apportionment act, the fact that the inequality of representation under it is no greater than under former apportionment acts is irrelevant, the language of the Constitution securing equality being plain and unambiguous.

"5. Under Section 3, Acticle IV, Constitution, providing that the Legislature 'shall apportion and district anew the members of the Senate and Assembly according to the number of inhabitants,' the districts must be as nearly equal in population as other constitutional requirements will permit. State ex rel. Attorney-General vs. Cunningham, 81 Wis., 440, reaffirmed.

"6. This rule, securing equality of representation so far as it is practically attainable without violating other constitutional provisions, is applicable not only in the formation of an Assembly district out of two or more counties, but also in the formation of two or more Assembly districts in one county, there being in the latter case necessarily a new unit of representation.

"7. The requirement of Section 4, Article IV, Constitution, that 'Assembly districts shall be in as compact form as practicable,'

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[illegible] of the Attorney General, and his [illegible] will not proceed to [illegible] upon the existence of a private [illegible] State.

[illegible] prevent the Secretary of State from giving [illegible] the Legislature under an [illegible] of the Constitution, the [illegible] and not a [illegible].

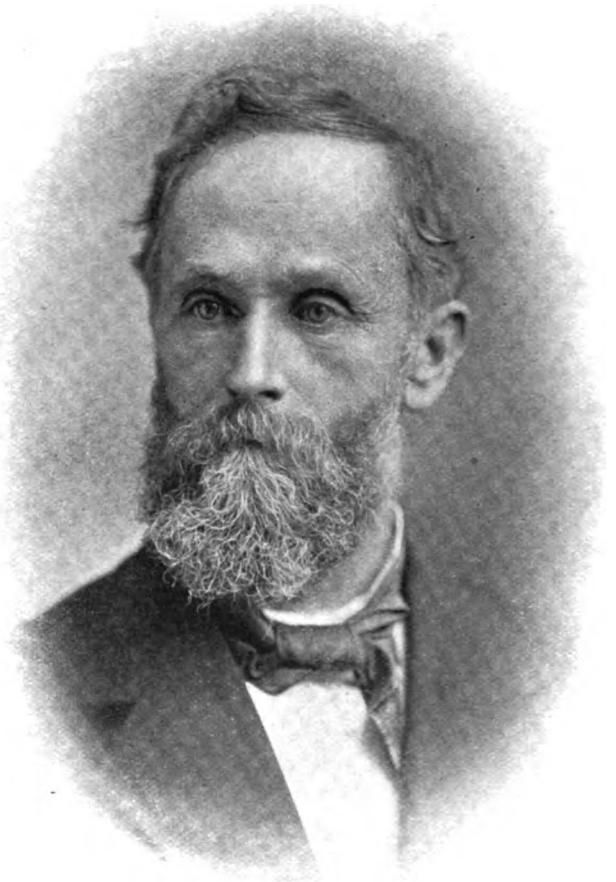
"3. [illegible] 3, Article IV, Constitution, [illegible] according to the number of inhabitants [illegible] previous federal or state census, and the Legislature [illegible] upon the theory that certain counties contain [illegible] such census shows; nor [illegible] be disregarded and the apportionment be based [illegible] as to the wealth of certain localities, the [illegible] population and business interests, or difference [illegible] the increase or depletion.

"4. [illegible] as to the validity of an apportionment act, [illegible] that the inequality of representation under [illegible] greater [illegible] under former apportionment acts is irrelevant, [illegible] the Constitution securing equality in population [illegible].

"5. Under Section 3, Article IV, Constitution, providing [illegible] the Legislature shall apportion and district anew the members of the Senate and Assembly according to the number of inhabitants, the districts must be as nearly equal in population as other [illegible] requirements will permit. State ex rel. Attorney-General [illegible] Cunningham, 81 Wis. 440 reaffirmed.

"6. This rule, requiring equality of representation so far as [illegible] practicable without violating other constitutional [illegible] and effective not only in the formation of [illegible] districts or [illegible] counties, but also in the [illegible] districts. Between [illegible] county, there [illegible] a reasonable [illegible] of representation.

"7. [illegible] Section 4, Article IV, Constitution, [illegible] compact [illegible] population.



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being of lesser importance, may to some extent yield in aid of securing a nearer approach to equality of representation.

"8. The unnecessary inequalities under the Apportionment Act of July, 1892, such, for example, as the formation of six Assembly districts, each containing one or more counties, with an aggregate population less than four times the unit of representation, when such counties might have been grouped into four districts in a county, when they might have been formed with a difference not exceeding 1,000 and with a gain in compactness; and the formation of one Senate district from two Assembly districts with a population of 30,732, and of another Senate district from four Assembly districts with a population of 65,953, are held to render the act invalid.—83 Wis., pp. 90, 91."

Mr. Justice Winslow dissented on the ground that the Supreme Court could not take jurisdiction without the consent of the Attorney-General. As stated above, the decision of the Court setting aside the second apportionment was announced on the 27th of September. On the 10th day of October, the Governor issued a proclamation again convening the Legislature in special session on the 27th day of October, at 8 p. m., to reapportion the State into Senate and Assembly districts. And the Legislature convened at the time appointed and passed the act under which Senators and Assemblymen were elected in November, 1892.

During Governor Peck's administration the Democrats had the privilege of electing two United States Senators, the first on January 28, 1891, when they selected William F. Vilas, who was chosen to succeed John C. Spooner, whose term of service had expired. Mr. Vilas was born in Vermont, July 9, 1840, and he came of good Yankee stock. His father, Hon. Levi B. Vilas, was prominent in Vermont politics, and still more active in the Democratic party after he came to Wisconsin in 1851, serving in the Legislature, and being heartily supported as a candidate for Governor in the Democratic State Convention, which met in Fond du Lac in 1877. Senator Vilas was educated at the State University and was graduated from the Albany Law School in 1860. At the breaking out of the slaveholders' rebellion, he raised a company and entered the Union army, and served with distinction, being

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rapidly promoted, until the close of the war. When peace was restored he resumed the practice of his profession at Madison, and he soon became recognized as one of the leading lawyers in the West. His superior mental equipment, fine scholastic attainments and unimpeachable Democracy soon called him to the front as a political manager and speaker, and he was often urged to accept the nomination of his party for Congress and for Governor of the State. To all these flattering solicitations he turned a deaf ear, and bided his time. When General Grant came home from his triumphant trip around the world, a fine banquet was given in his honor by his admiring friends in Chicago at the Palmer House, at which many of the notable people of the nation were present—Senators, Representatives, Judges, Generals, Governors, members of the Cabinet, editors, soldiers and others. It was an historic and illustrious gathering, the like of which was never seen in the great West before or since. Mr. Vilas was selected to respond to the toast, "Our Old Commander," and its mere announcement by the toastmaster was enough to stir the blood and create enthusiasm. It was a great oration, admirably conceived, splendidly delivered, and it electrified the audience and drew public attention to its brilliant author. The great silent soldier had never heard the like of it before, and he was spellbound, as indeed were all the others. That speech made Col. Vilas famous, and when the Democratic National Convention met in Chicago in 1880 to nominate a candidate for the presidency he was made president of the permanent organization. He was spokesman for the committee that went to Albany to apprise Grover Cleveland of his nomination, and his address on that occasion so captivated Mr. Cleveland that he made him Postmaster-General. In this important office he served with great acceptance for two years, when he was transferred to the Interior Department. Mr. Vilas was the only citizen of Wisconsin who was ever transferred from his private law office to a seat in the Cabinet. Alexander W. Randall had been Governor of his State for two terms and a foreign minister before entering the Cabinet of Andrew Johnson, and Timothy O. Howe had served eighteen years in the Senate of the United States before receiving the appointment of Postmaster-General under President Arthur.

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The first native-born citizen of Wisconsin to occupy a seat in the United States Senate was John L. Mitchell, a Democrat, who succeeded Philetus Sawyer at the end of his second term on the 4th of March, 1893. Mr. Mitchell was the only son and heir of Alexander Mitchell, who was, for nearly fifty years, the wealthiest banker and most prominent private citizen of Wisconsin, and who left the largest fortune ever accumulated in the State. John Lendrum Mitchell was born in Milwaukee October 19, 1842, and received an academic education. When the War of the Rebellion broke out he entered the Union army and was first lieutenant of Company E, Twenty-fourth Wisconsin Volunteer infantry; was adjutant of brigade, aide-de-camp and ordnance officer of division. He took part in many important battles, including Perryville, Murfreesboro and Hoover's Gap; was mustered out of the service before the close of the war on account of his failing eyesight. He early developed a taste for political life, and was a State Senator in 1872-73-76-77; he was president of the School Board of Milwaukee in 1884-85; member of the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Soldiers in 1885; president of the State Agricultural Society in 1889-90. Mr. Mitchell gives his occupation as that of a farmer, which he has pursued with great diligence and success. He was elected to the Fifty-second Congress for the full term beginning March 4, 1891, receiving 24,679 votes, against 17,605 for R. C. Spencer, Republican. Two years later he was reëlected to the Fifty-third Congress, but resigned his office February 10, 1893, when he was elected to the United States Senate. His candidacy for the Senate created a great deal of interest in the Democratic party, his opponent being Gen. Edward S. Bragg, who had long been known in Wisconsin as a distinguished soldier and politician. His victory over so gallant an opponent was considered a triumph for the younger element of the party. Mr. Mitchell enjoyed the distinction of representing the same district in the lower branch of Congress that his father had represented twenty years before, and when he entered the Senate he found as his colleague William F. Vilas, who had preceded him two years. The State of Wisconsin had not before been represented in the Senate by two Democrats since 1855—a period of thirty-eight years.

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CHAPTER XXII.

REPUBLICANS AGAIN AT THE HELM.

The nomination of Maj. W. H. Upham by the Republican Convention which met on July 25, 1894, caused surprise to the other gubernatorial candidates, and to a good many people who were somewhat familiar with political methods. There is nothing, however, strange about it, when the conditions are understood. In the first place, Upham had very magnanimously, and without the least ill feeling, withdrawn from the field the year before, to give place to Senator Spooner, whom the leaders of the party wished to see nominated. This produced a very kindly feeling toward Upham all over the State, and especially on the part of many of the Republican leaders. It also strengthened him greatly in his own section of the State, where it was felt that he had made a very great sacrifice in the interests of party harmony.

Then Upham was personally popular, especially among the Grand Army posts of the State. He had a hearty manner, was generous and bluff, and possessed many of those superficial traits which make for strength among the people. He was a successful business man, was aggressive and decisive in all his methods; somewhat headstrong but not too much for his own business success. Then, too, more than any of the other eight or ten candidates, he had what is known as second-choice strength. This is what Governor Upham and his immediate friends based their confidence upon prior to the convention, a confidence which the friends of other candidates did not then, and have never since quite understood. But it was a fact that Upham's personal popularity, his strength with the Grand Army and his withdrawal in favor of Spooner, together with the fact that he was from the northern-central portion of the State, combined to make him second choice of many of the delegates who were first for their respective candidates.

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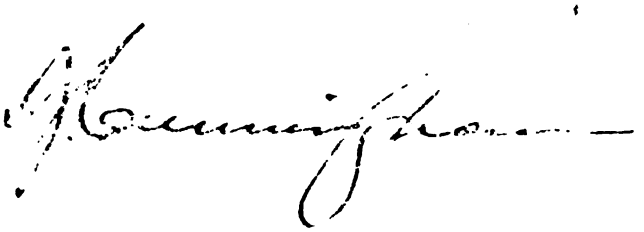

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CHAPTER X.

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Mr. Upham entered upon his duties as Governor of the State under unique circumstances—circumstances which have not been paralleled in the history of the Republican party, nor in the case of any former Governor of Wisconsin. The party had been out of power for four years, and the Democrats had taken every office within sight. The immense majority, which was the largest that had up to that time been received by any candidate for Governor, made the number of applicants for places larger than ever before.

This situation was aggravated by the unfortunate financial condition of the country. What made Upham's path peculiarly thorny in distributing offices, was the fact that hundreds of men who had in prior years been contributors of money and time to Republican party success, through business reverses had come to be office-seekers. Only one man could be appointed to each office, and hence the number of disappointed ones was very large. It is said that Upham had upwards of 5,000 applicants for place during his first year, and that he had less than 150 places to give, including places on the messenger and janitor roll in the capitol building. Upham was not a politician. He was a man of affairs, enterprising, decisive and aggressive in his business methods, but he was not as familiar as the circumstances seemed to require with the ways of the politician. This is another explanation of the dissatisfaction and fault-finding with him.

He got along with the Legislature as well as could be expected, and its work was quite as creditable as that of any of the preceding Legislatures. The chief question which came up, and one which was made use of in opposition to Upham, was the Legislature's action in releasing the ex-State Treasurers. Upham believed in the justice of the measure, releasing the Treasurers from extortionate interest, though he did not believe that it was good politics to bring the subject up at that time. That he signed the bills when he did not believe in the political wisdom of introducing them, shows one of the man's characteristics. He did not care so much for political effect as he did for the kindly thought of men with whom he was associated. He felt that while it was against his judgment that the bills were introduced, they having been introduced and passed after mature deliberation, with the

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consent of both parties, he was not justified in setting up his judgment in opposition to the judgment of a large majority of the members of both branches of the Legislature. Probably no act of his administration brought down upon his head more criticism than the signing of these bills—a criticism which was the only important political one made. It must not be forgotten that the opposition, which seemed to be so widespread, was personal as distinguished from political. That is to say, there was a widespread criticism, not of his administrative acts, but of his personal dealings with men.

Many reasons have been given for Governor Upham's withdrawal from the field and refusal to be a candidate for renomination. A majority of these reasons, however, as is well known by the Governor's intimate friends, fall short of or override the truth. The fact is, that with an enormous business on his hands and the financial conditions of the country very unfavorable in every way, he had a burden to carry which few men in the State of Wisconsin had to carry, and it came to be a question with him whether he should let his business go or get out of political life, and he chose the latter.

In all the storm of criticism which surrounded Upham's administration there never was a question of the man's personal integrity nor was ever a wrong motive imputed to him. The worst charge that can be brought against Upham is that he was not a politician, and, therefore, did not have the tact and wisdom to deal with politicians in handling the peculiar conditions and circumstances which surrounded his inauguration into office. There stands to the credit of the administration the establishment of the Home for the Feeble Minded, which was for years, even before he was Governor, a pet scheme of Upham's. Another monument to his administration is the great library building erected on the lower campus of the University. Perhaps no Governor that the State has ever had was so successful in having the important recommendations made in his first message so generally carried out. Out of less than twenty recommendations fourteen were carried out by the Legislature in the form of laws.

During the spring of 1896 a rumor gained currency through-

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out the State that Governor Upham would not be a candidate for reëlection, and the name of ex-Senator Sawyer was brought prominently forward in the Republican press as that of a man whose nomination would strengthen the party. But the veteran Senator had retired from politics, and, in his 80th year, was desirous of crowning a life of labor with an age of ease. Mr. Sawyer was at the National Convention at St. Louis as one of the delegates-at-large from Wisconsin. Governor Upham was also there, and in conference with his friends formally announced his determination not to run again. Before the members of the Wisconsin delegation started on their homeward journey, it was pretty definitely settled that Maj. Edward Scofield of Oconto, who had had strong backing for the nomination in 1894, would be the coming man. Friends of R. M. LaFollette set an active canvass for that gentleman in motion, and when the State Convention met at Milwaukee in August there was an even half-dozen of candidates, including Eugene S. Elliott and Lieutenant-Governor Baensch, with Scofield and LaFollette in the lead. The convention was the largest political gathering which had ever assembled in the State. It met at the Exposition building, and its deliberations attracted a concourse of enthusiastic spectators from all parts of Wisconsin. At the outset LaFollette was ahead. The number of votes necessary for a choice was 341, and on the opening ballot LaFollette received 261½, Scofield 249½, Emil Baensch 83, Eugene S. Elliott 48½, Ira Bradford 31, and C. E. Estabrook 6. There was a spirited scramble for delegates on the part of the three leading candidates, Scofield steadily gaining as the voting progressed. On the fifth ballot Scofield received 323½ votes. LaFollette 238 and Baensch 108½, while Elliott, Estabrook and Bradford had respectively fallen off to 5, 3 and 2. While the sixth ballot was in progress, after the vote of the Second district was announced, H. C. Adams interrupted the roll-call by moving, on behalf of Mr. LaFollette's friends, that the nomination of Major Scofield be made unanimous, and the motion was carried amid great enthusiasm, the ticket being completed by the renomination of the incumbents of the remaining State offices. The canvass that followed will be long remembered, as 1896 was the year of the

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greatest political landslide in the history of the State. Major Scofield's campaign speeches increased the number of his friends, and he was elected over W. C. Silverthorn, his Democratic competitor, by a plurality of 95,724 in a poll of 444,107 votes.

A conspicuous feature of the history of the political campaign of 1896 in Wisconsin, as well as in the nation at large, was the so-called Gold Democratic bolt. Many prominent Democrats refused to accept the platform of the National Convention of the Democratic party at Chicago, which nominated William Jennings Bryan for the presidency. They objected not only to the plank declaring in favor of unlimited free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, when that ratio was no longer the commercial ratio between gold and silver in the markets of the world. They objected, also, to the plank which, in effect, arraigned the administration of President Cleveland for committing "a crime against free institutions" when he used the federal power to put down violence in Illinois at the time of the Debs strike. They regarded the language of the Chicago platform as an assault upon the constitutional power of the courts. A State Convention of Democrats who refused to sanction the Chicago platform assembled at Milwaukee on the 26th of August, 1896, and adopted a platform in which they declared their adherence to "the time-honored principles of Jefferson, Jackson, Van Buren, Tilden and Cleveland," and their refusal to abandon or be driven from those principles by the action of "the Chicago Convention of July, 1896." They denounced the action of the Chicago Convention "as being in open violation of the principles of the Democratic party," and invited all good citizens to co-operate with them in "putting the stamp of condemnation upon the populistic and anarchical heresies promulgated at Chicago and endorsed [in the National Convention of the Populists] at St. Louis." They re-enunciated the National Democratic platform of 1892 on the money question, holding that the dollar unit of coinage in both silver and gold must be of equal intrinsic value. They added: "To create and maintain the integrity of that dollar we adopt the words of the Democratic party of Wisconsin, assembled in convention in June, 1896, in favor of gold, the highest monetary standard of the world, as the true measure of unfluctuating value."

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N. R. Utley.

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The National Democrats held a National Convention at Indianapolis and put a separate presidential ticket in the field, but when election day came many of them voted for McKinley. The Wisconsin men who took part in the bolt included a large number of the most prominent Democrats in the State. Some of them, like Ellis B. Usher, of La Crosse, once chairman of the Democratic State Committee, have since identified themselves with the Republican party. They did not nominate a State ticket. The vote for Palmer in Wisconsin was not large—only 4,584, but it is a significant fact, in connection with the Gold Democratic bolt, that while Scofield, the popular Republican candidate for Governor, had a plurality of 95,724, McKinley's plurality in Wisconsin was 102,612.

The Hon. W. C. Silverthorn of Wausau, who was Governor Scofield's Democratic opponent in the gubernatorial contest of 1896, is a well-known politician and an active member of his political party. He has served several terms in the State Legislature, is a leading lawyer, a gentleman of unimpeachable integrity, and is now a circuit judge. Although he was overwhelmingly defeated in the race for the office of chief executive of the State, he has the satisfaction of knowing he polled the largest vote ever cast in the State for a Democratic candidate for Governor—another evidence, if one were wanting, of the confidence and respect which the members of his party entertain for him. Judge Silverthorn made a thorough canvass of the State in his own behalf, and spoke in all the principal cities of Wisconsin, impressing people with a confidence in his sincerity and good faith. He adhered strictly in his public addresses to the free silver dogma adopted by his party in its last national utterance at Chicago on the currency question, and heartily adopted William J. Bryan's theory as to the 16 to 1 coinage of the silver dollar.

Governor Scofield was born in Clearfield county, Pennsylvania, March 28, 1842. He received a common school education, broadening his knowledge in a printing office—"the poor boy's college." He enlisted in a Pennsylvania regiment in 1861, rising from the ranks to a captaincy, and at the battle of the Wilderness was taken prisoner. During the ten

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months following the 5th of May, 1864, he saw the inside of twelve different Southern prisons. On his release, he was brevetted Major. He came to Wisconsin in 1868, and after several years of service in a railway engineer corps embarked in the lumbering business, in which he is still interested. He represented his district in the State Senate for four years beginning in 1887. As Governor he has conducted the affairs of the State on business principles. At the outset of his career he began to tighten the reins and demand of the employees of the State at Madison, on behalf of the people, the same faithful service which, on his own behalf, he requires from the employees in his planing mill. None but a brave man could have taken the stand of Governor Scofield on the subject of State finances: "When I see a balance sheet," he said, "I want to know that it represents a real balance, and is not merely a confusing mass of figures." Despite the fears of politicians, he determined to do away with the unwholesome practice of clandestine borrowing to make good a deficit in the State funds. This practice had been in vogue for years, under Democratic and Republican administrations alike, but Governor Scofield determined to do away with it, even at the risk of becoming unpopular, and to insist on the levy of a State tax, adequate to place the commonwealth of Wisconsin squarely on its feet. In his attitude toward the Legislature, Governor Scofield has from the first been courteous and dignified, never descending to bulldozing tactics, but carefully studying every bill when it came to him and fearelessly vetoing every measure which, after investigation, seemed to him unconstitutional or of doubtful expediency. If he can not understand a bill, he calls upon those interested to explain it. He has never signed a bill which he could not understand, and in spite of strong backing, several railroad bills failed in the spring of 1897, because they could not pass the ordeal of the executive chamber. The Governor has been equally conscientious in making appointments. His administration has been one which commands the respect of citizens, irrespective of party.

There was a tremendous effort to defeat him for re-nomination in 1898 and confer the mantle of leadership upon the brilliant and energetic ex-Congressman R. M. La Follette. La Follette's

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friends organized long before the convention, and went into that gathering a solid column with strong manifestations of confidence. The first business transacted was the construction of a platform, in which the wishes of the La Follette men were consulted and respected; but when the vote on Governor was taken it showed that Scofield was the choice of the large majority of the delegates. The number of ballots cast for Scofield was 620½; for La Follette, 436½; for Emil Baensch, 2 and for ex-Attorney General Estabrook, 6. The friends of La Follette received full recognition in the make-up of the balance of the ticket, which included Jesse Stone for Lieutenant-Governor, W. H. Froehlich for Secretary of State, J. O. Davidson for Treasurer, E. R. Hicks for Attorney-General, Graham L. Rice for Railroad Commissioner, Lorenzo D. Harvey for State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Emil Giljohann for Insurance Commissioner. The convention adjourned with all the elements of the party united and enthusiastic. The Democratic Convention placed at the head of its ticket Judge Hiram W. Sawyer, of Hartford, who had been a member of the Legislature during the administration of Governor Taylor, and a county judge for many years, and was highly respected by members of both parties. For Lieutenant-Governor it nominated a well-known Gold Democrat, ex-Congressman P. V. Deuster. The platform endorsed the Chicago platform of 1896, but did not emphasize the free silver issue. Some of the Democrats who had bolted in 1896 returned to the fold, but most of them either refrained from voting or voted the Republican ticket. Governor Scofield was re-elected with a plurality of 37,784, while the remainder of the Republican ticket was elected with pluralities in the neighborhood of 55,000.

The Legislature was overwhelmingly Republican. In the Senate there were only two Democrats and thirty-one Republicans. In the Assembly the Democrats numbered nineteen and the Republicans eighty-one. There was a United States Senatorship to be disposed of, and five candidates had enthusiastic supporters. All the candidates were men of ability, standing well in the party. The campaign began early, some of the candidates opening headquarters in Milwaukee long before the Legislature

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convened. At Madison it was a battle royal until the night of the caucus. No business was done in either house, and the members spent their time in the headquarters of the several candidates. The caucus was held on the evening of Wednesday, January 18, 1899. On the first ballot J. V. Quarles, of Milwaukee, received 37 votes; Isaac Stephenson, of Marinette, 30; Congressman J. W. Babcock, of Necedah, 19; S. A. Cook, of Neenah, 15, and Judge Charles M. Webb, of Grand Rapids, 10. As there were 112 Republican votes in the two houses, 56 were necessary to a choice. After three ballots, with but slight change, an adjournment was taken, which was followed by caucus after caucus, with very little change in the vote. The deadlock lasted until the evening of Monday, January 30. On the day before, a conference had been held in Milwaukee at which a last unsuccessful attempt had been made to effect a combination against J. V. Quarles, the leading candidate. At the opening of the caucus on Monday evening, Mr. Stephenson's name was withdrawn and the others quickly followed. Mr. Quarles was unanimously nominated, and on the succeeding day he was elected in joint session, receiving 110 votes, against 18 cast by the Democratic members for Timothy E. Ryan, of Waukesha, who had received the complimentary vote at all the joint sessions.

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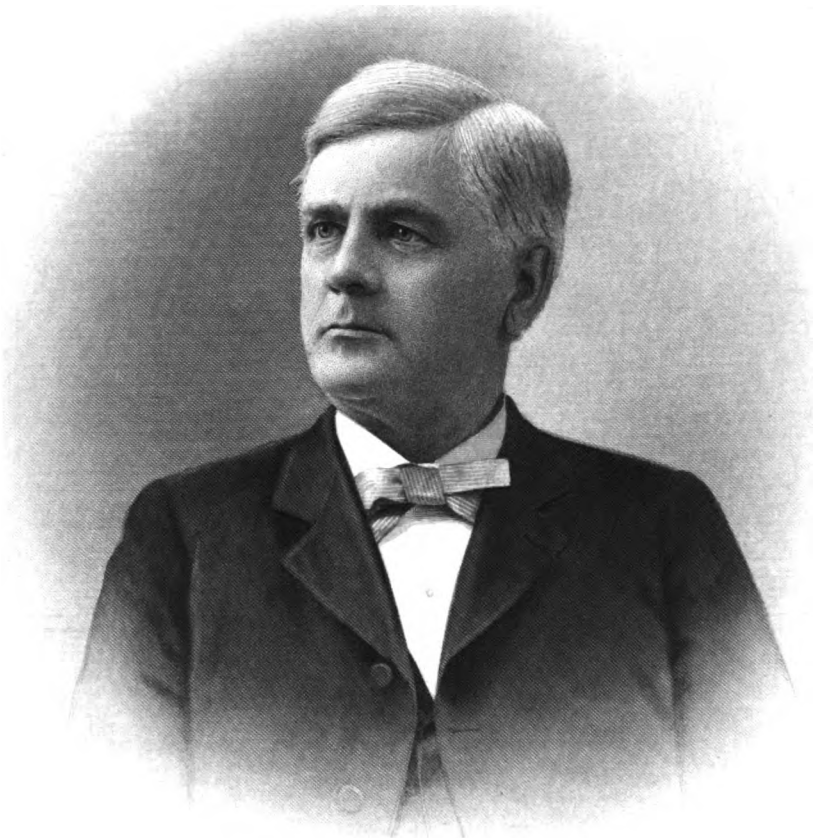

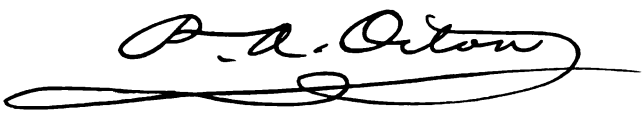

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CHAPTER XXIII.

WISCONSIN'S REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS.

The first delegation in Congress from the State of Wisconsin consisted of William Pitt Lynde, of Milwaukee, and Dr. Mason C. Darling, of Fond du Lac. Both of them were Democrats. Mr. Lynde was graduated from Yale College in 1838, and later he studied law in the Harvard Law School. He was an excellent scholar, a good linguist and an orator of fine natural and acquired accomplishments. He came to Milwaukee in 1841, and formed a law co-partnership with the late Asahel Finch, which soon was recognized as one of the strongest in the State. Mr. Lynde was Attorney-General of the territory of Wisconsin and United States District Attorney. He served in both branches of the State Legislature and one term as mayor of Milwaukee. He was first elected to Congress in 1848, again in 1874 and again in 1876. As a lawyer he ranked high in the estimation of his contemporaries, and in Congress he always took a leading part. He was one of the prosecutors in the impeachment trial of Secretary of War Belknap, and he took great interest in the Electoral Commission in 1876 which was to determine the presidential contest between Rutherford B. Hayes and Samuel J. Tilden. It was thought by many discreet men who were in Washington at the time that the findng of that Electoral Commission averted another civil war. Mr. Lynde was warmly in favor of raising that commission, but he vigorously opposed its final decision.

Mr. Lynde became a candidate for Congress in 1874, twenty-six years after his first service, under somewhat peculiar circumstances. The Democratic Congressional Convention for the Milwaukee district had been packed by Sam Rindskopf, who had manipulated the caucuses and secured the delegates for himself. Up to that date Mr. Rindskopf was a sort of local Democratic boss,

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and he had everything his own way. He was a man of great energy, liberal with his money, very popular with his associates, and of a fine personal appearance—so much so that he was called "Prince Sam" by his enthusiastic admirers. But after the convention a question was raised as to Rindskopf's eligibility. This frightened him, and on October 21, nearly a month after the convention, he wrote to the Congressional Committee, withdrawing from the canvass and suggesting that Mr. Lynde be made the nominee, which was done. Mr. Rindskopf, with many others, Republicans and Democrats, was indicted by the grand jury for defrauding the government in connection with the Whisky Ring. He was found guilty and punished.

Mr. Lynde's colleague in the Thirtieth Congress was Dr. Mason C. Darling, an early settler and popular physician of Fond du Lac, who had been prominent in territorial politics, and an active member of the Democratic party. He was Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1846, and it was thought he had a successful public career before him, especially after his election to Congress, but for some reason he was relegated to a back seat in the shuffle of the next apportionment when Wisconsin was allowed three members of Congress.

Asahel Finch, who was Mr. Lynde's law partner, and his opponent in the race for Congress in 1848, was a highly respected and influential citizen of Milwaukee for many years. He was a gentleman of stern integrity, unimpeachable morals, great public spirit, and a promoter of religion and education. He was a leading Whig until the dissolution of that party in 1852, and then he helped to organize and make victorious the Republican party. Being a Christian man, he was naturally an anti-slavery man. He came of good old Puritan stock, and he illustrated in his life and conduct many of the virtues and noble traits of that historic race. The State Historical Society was presented with a sketch of this good man's career a few years ago when he died, in which the writer said: "If Diogenes had been going about Milwaukee with his lantern some dark night, in search of an honest lawyer, he would have put out his light and gone home satisfied when he met Asahel Finch!" He was one of the founders of the Milwaukee Public Library, and a fine picture of him can be seen there.

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The Congressional apportionment made after the Federal census was taken in 1850, gave Wisconsin three Congressmen, and that number held good for ten years, or until the apportionment was again made after the census of 1860, which gave Wisconsin six members instead of three.

During the decade when we had three representatives, ending in 1863, thirteen gentlemen were chosen to represent the State in the popular branch of Congress. These were Charles Durkee, of Kenosha, four years; Orsamus Cole, of Lafayette, two years; James Duane Doty, of Winnebago, two years; Benjamin C. Eastman, of Grant, four years; John B. Macy, of Sheboygan, four years; Daniel Wells, Jr., of Milwaukee, four years; C. C. Washburn, of La Crosse, four years; Charles Billinghurst, of Dodge, four years; John F. Potter, of Walworth, six years; Charles H. Larrabee, of Dodge, two years; Luther Hanchett, of Portage, one year; Walter D. McIndoe, of Marathon, one year, and A. Scott Sloan, of Dodge, two years. Of these Durkee, Cole, Washburn, Billinghurst, Potter, Hanchett, McIndoe and Sloan were Republicans; Doty was a Doty man and Eastman, Macy, Wells and Larrabee were Democrats. All of them, except Luther Hanchett, who died during his first term and was succeeded by McIndoe, were prominent afterwards in public life and in their political parties. Some of them won distinction along other than political lines. Wells, Washburn and McIndoe became very rich in the lumbering business. Judge Potter was one of the few Northern men at that time who had the courage to resent Southern insolence by accepting a challenge to mortal combat.

He represented Milwaukee in Congress from 1857 to 1863, following Daniel Wells, Jr., and giving way to James S. Brown, when the State was redistricted and Wisconsin was given double the number of representatives that she had before. Judge Potter entered Congress at the most exciting and memorable epoch in our national history, just before the secession of eleven States and the breaking out of the Civil war. The slaveholders had resolved to invade the free territories of the North-west with their peculiar kind of property; Congress had already passed the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the Fugitive Slave Act, and the extreme men

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of the South declared that the Constitution carried slavery wherever the national flag waved on American soil. This contention was stoutly denied by the people of the North, and the "irrepressible conflict" between freedom and slavery opened in earnest. The slaveholders in Congress were insolent and overbearing to the last degree. Senator Sumner had been cruelly beaten in the Senate chamber by one of them for making a speech describing "the barbarism of slavery," and the boast was openly made that one Southern man could easily whip three Yankees. Congress was full of "men of honor" from the South, and those who were not duelists were taunted with cowardice. Some of the Northern representatives got tired of these taunts, and determined to take them no longer, but to stand for Yankee pluck and courage whenever the occasion demanded it. Anson Burlingame, of Massachusetts, was one of them, and John F. Potter, of Wisconsin, was another. When Burlingame was invited by a Southerner to fight a duel he promptly accepted, and being the challenged party he had the choice of weapons. He named rifles, with the use of which he was familiar, and not the regulation dueling pistol, with which his adversary was an expert. It is a matter of record that the duel with rifles did not come off. One night during a session of Congress a debate on the slavery question ended in a rough-and-tumble fight between E. B. Washburn, of Illinois, and his brother, C. C. Washburn, of Wisconsin, on one side, and Barksdale, of Mississippi, and other Southern men, on the other side. Potter took a hand in and knocked down a few of them. This gave him a reputation for courage, and it was not very long until Roger A. Pryor challenged him to mortal combat. The challenge did not grow out of the midnight brawl, however. Potter promptly accepted the challenge, and named bowie knives as the weapons. Pryor had the reputation of being a crack shot with the dueling pistol, and Judge Potter determined to select a weapon with which he would have an even chance. Pryor declared the terms "barbarous," and backed out. Talking with Judge Potter afterwards about the matter, he said: "If we had met, as I expected we would, I would have cut him in two the first pass I made at him!" "I think he would have done so," said one who knew Judge Potter

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[illegible] that the Constitution carried slavery wherever [illegible] had gone on American soil. This contention was [illegible] by the people of the North, and the "Impressible conflict" between freedom and slavery opened in earnest. [illegible] Congress were flooded and overwhelmed by the [illegible] Southern States had been certainly beaten in the Senate [illegible] by reason of the filibustering against such legislation. The [illegible] of slavery in all the West was openly [illegible] [illegible] three years. Congress was [illegible] men of both parties from the South and those who were [illegible] with them, and some of the Northern [illegible] of resent [illegible] determined to take [illegible] stand for Northern pluck. Come what [illegible] [illegible] Massachusetts, was [illegible] them, and [illegible] Pennsylvania, was another. [illegible] Harlingame [illegible] of Illinois, rather [illegible] and he [illegible] keep [illegible] right. Falkinge [illegible] he [illegible] the [illegible] of weapons [illegible] the use of which he was [illegible] [illegible] It is a matter of record that the day [illegible] not [illegible] off. One night during a session of Congress [illegible] on the subject of slavery [illegible] in a rough-and-tumble fight between E. B. Washburne, of Illinois, and his brother, C. C. Washburn, of Wisconsin, on one side, and Barksdale, of Mississippi, and other Southern men, on the other side. Potter took a hand in and knocked down a few of them. This gave him a reputation for courage, and it was not very long until Roger A. Pryor challenged him to mortal combat. The challenge did not grow out of the midnight brawl, however. Potter promptly [illegible] the challenge, and named bowie knives as the weapons. [illegible] reputation of being a crack shot with the [illegible] Judge Potter determined to select a weapon with which [illegible] an even chance. Pryor declared the terms "[illegible] [illegible] out. Talking with Judge Potter afterwards [illegible] said: "If we had met, as I expected we would, [illegible] him in two the first pass I made at him!" "I [illegible] done so," said one who knew Judge Potter

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well, "for at that time he was in the prime of life, weighed over 200 pounds, and there was no waste timber in him. He had the agility of a cat, the strength of an ox and the courage of a lion."

After Pryor had refused to meet Potter on the terms proposed on the ground that the terms were "brutal," he published a card in The National Intelligencer of Washington, giving Potter due notice that he would attack him on the street whenever they should meet. Of course Potter at once armed himself to the teeth for the anticipated encounter, and he daily expected an attack, but the threat was never carried out. The two belligerents met on the street one morning, but instead of shooting Potter, Pryor locked arms with his companion and they quietly walked off. This affair made Judge Potter greatly talked about all over the country, and the incident overshadowed the really valuable services that he rendered to his district and the nation at large. His six years in Congress as the representative of the largest, most populous and wealthiest district in the State, gave him the reputation of being one of the most active and valuable members of the lower house, and his agreeable manners and genial disposition made him as popular with his colleagues as he was useful to the nation. No man ever left Congress with a better record.

Washburn and Sloan had much to do in State affairs after they left Congress. Macy and Larrabee died by violence. The former perished in the burning steamboat Niagara off Port Washington September 24, 1856, and the latter was killed in an accident on the Southern Pacific Railroad.

An eye witness describes Macy's tragic death as follows: "I saw Congressman Macy when he made his jump into the boat full of people and threw them all into the water. Macy was on the upper deck and the boat was being lowered from the stern, where it was carried, in the same manner as the yawls of vessels nowadays. The boat was packed with people and had been lowered a short distance so it was seven feet perhaps below the roof of the cabin on which Macy was. He ran from the forward part of the steamer and when he reached the stern jumped for the boat. He was a very heavy man, and the force of his falling

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weight tore the falls from one end and the entire load of people was tumbled into the water. Many went down at once, others clung to a rope which trailed from the stern."

John B. Macy was born in Nantucket, R. I., March 15, 1799. He was liberally educated and came to Wisconsin in 1850. He made heavy purchases of lands in Fond du Lac county, and moved to the town of Empire, near Lake De Nevu, where he built a magnificent home. He was a leader in all undertakings calculated to develop the country, and did much to attract capital to Wisconsin. It was through Mr. Macy's influence that Robert J. Walker and others were induced to invest in the railway which is now a part of the Northwestern railroad, which had its beginning in the city of Fond du Lac. He was sent to Congress to boom the railroad and the Fox River Improvement. He was a splendid specimen of physical manhood. Over six feet tall, he had a commanding presence, genial manners and made friends easily. His home was the abode of courtesy, hospitality and intelligence.

When the apportionment was made, based upon the census of 1860, it was found that Wisconsin would be entitled to six members in the House of Representatives. In redistricting the State under the new Apportionment Act, all of the old Representatives disappeared from the halls of Congress except one—Walter D. McIndoe, who had served one year as the Representative from the old Second district, filling out the unexpired term of Luther Hanchett, deceased, but who now turned up from the new Sixth district. The new faces that appeared at the beginning of the Thirty-eighth Congress (1863-65) were James S. Brown, of Milwaukee; Ithamar C. Sloan, of Janesville; Amasa Cobb, of Mineral Point; Charles A. Eldridge, of Fond du Lac; and Ezra Wheeler, of Berlin. Brown was known to the public as the first Attorney General of the State, elected on the ticket with Nelson Dewey; Sloan was a prominent lawyer of Janesville; Cobb had been Speaker of the Assembly and a State Senator; Eldridge had represented Fond du Lac in the State Senate in 1850-1; Wheeler was one of the committee on the part of the Assembly to prosecute the impeachment trial of Judge Hubbell ten years before, and McIndoe had already served one term in the previous

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Congress. The delegation consisted of four Republicans (Sloan, Cobb, Wheeler and McIndoe), and two Democrats (Brown and Eldridge). Eldridge was known as a Copperhead all through the war. In the Thirty-ninth Congress (1865-67) there were only two changes in the delegation, Gen. Halbert E. Paine took the place of James S. Brown from the First district, and Philetus Sawyer displaced Ezra Wheeler in the Fifth. Sloan, Cobb, Eldridge and McIndoe were reëlected—five Republicans and one Democrat. General Paine went early to the war, and soon returned home minus one leg, which he left on a Louisiana battlefield as a testimony of his love for the Union. Sawyer had just entered upon the longest Congressional career of any Representative that the State has ever sent to Washington. When some future historian writes the biographies of "The Men Who Have Risen," he will be likely to give a large share of space to an account of the career of Philetus Sawyer. Coming from Vermont to Wisconsin over fifty years ago, with nothing but his hands, his clear head, and his indomitable energy and sterling character, he has made fame and fortune for himself of a kind that few can boast and none excel. His 81st birthday found him in good health, with one of the largest fortunes of any man in Wisconsin—all the fruit of his own industry, frugality and good management, and able to point to a longer term of service in the Congress of the United States than any other man can show in the State. When he was a member of the House of Representatives from the Oshkosh district, Mr. Colfax, who was then Speaker, said to a friend one day: "Mr. Sawyer is one of the most valuable members of this House. He has never been absent from his seat during a session, to my knowledge. He never makes a speech, and never fails to get his own bills passed. He is always at work helping some member who needs help, and that puts them under obligation to him so that whatever he wants goes. I often hear members say: 'I don't know anything about this measure, but if Sawyer wants it, I know it is all right and I am for it!'" Coming from the Speaker of the House, this was high praise; praise from Sir Hubert himself. What an example he has set for the young men of Wisconsin to follow! Emerson must have had some such man as Senator Sawyer in his mind when he wrote: "Out of a pine stick

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a Western man will whittle a judgeship, a seat in Congress, and a foreign mission!"

A new face appeared in the next delegation (1867-69)—Benjamin F. Hopkins, of Madison, taking the place of I. C. Sloan in the Second district. Hopkins was a brother-in-law of Horace Rublee, and one of the most skillful politicians the State has ever known. In the Sixth district, Cadwallader C. Washburn, who had served six years in Congress from the old Second district (1855-61), reappeared after six years' absence, and succeeded McIndoe. The delegation in the Forty-first Congress (1869-71) was unchanged except that B. F. Hopkins died, and David Atwood, of The Madison State Journal, was elected to fill out his unexpired term. In the Forty-second Congress (1871-73) four new members put in an appearance. The Democrats had gained one member in the person of Alexander Mitchell, who succeeded Halbert E. Paine in the First district, defeating Gen. F. C. Winkler, the Republican candidate. In Mitchell's first race he was defeated by Gen. Halbert E. Paine. In his last campaign Mr. Mitchell had William Penn Lyon, who was afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, for his Republican opponent. Mr. Mitchell was well and favorably known to the people as a successful banker and railroad promoter—never as a politician—as the first citizen of Milwaukee and of the State at large. He had voted twice for Mr. Lincoln and cordially supported the administration in its efforts to preserve the Union, but after the war closed and Andrew Johnson became president, like Senator Doolittle, Mr. Mitchell adopted Mr. Johnson's theory in regard to the reconstruction of the rebel States, and from that time on he gave his vote and his influence to the Democratic party. While in Congress Mr. Mitchell made a speech on the currency question that attracted wide attention among the bankers and financiers of the nation, in which he showed a perfect familiarity with his subject and pointed out the conservative methods which he insisted the government should follow. He was a close friend of Samuel J. Tilden and had that gentleman been chosen president in 1876, Mr. Mitchell would undoubtedly have been offered the treasury portfolio.

The other new men in the delegation were Gerry W. Hazel-

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ton, of Columbia, who had won distinction as a lawyer and was already well known to the people of the State as a discreet and useful legislator. J. Allen Barber, of Grant county, stood for the Third district, instead of Amasa Cobb. Barber was an old stager, a first-class man, prominent in public life in territorial times, and Speaker of the Assembly in 1863. In the Sixth district Jerry M. Rusk, afterwards Governor for three terms, and a member of Harrison's Cabinet, took the seat formerly occupied by C. C. Washburn.

The redistricting of the State after the taking of the Federal census in 1870, when Wisconsin was given eight members in the House of Representatives, instead of six, did not make many changes in the personnel of the Congressional delegation. The districts were all altered, but most of the old members of the Forty-second Congress had seats in the Forty-third. Two new men were elected to the Forty-third, and the six members who had represented the State in the previous Congress (1873-75), were all reëlected. The new men were Charles G. Williams, of Janesville, representing the new First district, and Alexander S. McDill, from the Eighth. Mr. Williams was a Rock county lawyer of note, a son-in-law of Judge David Noggle, a good speaker, who had been an active member of the State Senate for four years in war time. He had long been a candidate for Congress, but had been defeated in the nominating conventions first by Benjamin F. Hopkins, and next by David Atwood and G. W. Hazelton, so that he was well known by the politicians of his district. He had a prepossessing personal appearance, was of an affable and friendly disposition, and had the habit of infusing a great deal of enthusiasm into his public addresses. He spent ten years in Congress and became an influential and useful member of the House. Although his district was largely Republican and he was personally very popular with his friends, he was defeated by John Winans, a Democrat, who had the aid of the dissatisfied Republicans and disappointed officeseekers. Mr. Williams was appointed Registrar of the Land Office at Watertown, S. D., by President Arthur, where he died in 1887.

In the Forty-fourth Congress (1875-77), there were many

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changes. Williams and Rusk were the only members of the previous Congress who were reëlected. The new men were Lucien B. Caswell, Henry S. Magoon, Samuel D. Burchard, Alanson M. Kimball and George W. Cate. William Pitt Lynde, the first man elected to Congress when the State was admitted, turned up as a representative from the Fourth district after an absence of twenty-six years. He might properly be classed as a new man. Caswell had just entered on what proved to be the longest term of service of any Wisconsin member in the House of Representatives. He held his seat for fourteen years continuously, except that he lost it in the eclipse of Republican faith in 1883, and resumed it again in 1885. Mr. Caswell was born at Swanton, Vermont, November 27, 1827, and came to Wisconsin with his parents in 1837, when he was 10 years old. He studied some time at the Beloit College, but did not graduate. He served in the Legislature in 1863, 1872 and 1874, and was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1868. His long term in Congress, coupled with his good judgment, correct methods and conservatism, gave him influence and prominence with his associates in the halls of legislation.

Henry S. Magoon was the first native of Wisconsin to be elected to Congress. He was born in Monticello January 31, 1832, and was educated at the Western Military College, Drennon, Ky. After graduation he was professor of ancient languages in the Nashville University, Tennessee, and remained there until 1857, when he returned to Wisconsin and began the practice of law. He served one term in the State Senate, 1871-2, defeating the venerable Charles Dunn. He was elected to the Forty-fourth Congress as a Republican over Charles F. Thompson, Democrat. In 1875 he opened a law office in Milwaukee, dying shortly after.

A political contest of long standing and becoming more bitter with age, between Gen. Edward S. Bragg and A. K. Delaney, in the old Fifth district, helped to bring to the front Samuel D. Burchard, of Beaver Dam. He was born in Leyden, N. Y., July 17, 1836, and removed with his father to Wisconsin in 1845. He served four years in the Union army, rising to the rank of major. He served two years in the State Senate, and two sessions in the

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Forty-fourth Congress, defeating Barber, Republican, by a large majority.

Alanson Kimball, who took the seat occupied by Philetus Sawyer in the Sixth district, was a merchant, and had been a member of the State Senate in 1863-4. He was elected over Gabriel Bouck, Democrat, by 92 votes.

General Bragg's reputation as a soldier preceded him in Congress. The Confederates knew him as the commander of the Iron Brigade that showed on every occasion the unconquerable spirit of the Old Guard under Marshal Ney, and as Bragg had fought the rebels on many a well-contested field in the South, so he successfully opposed and defeated many a spurious claim for damages to property that was presented in Congress for payment. Bragg was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1884, when Cleveland was nominated the first time for the presidency, and took a hand in the fight between Cleveland's supporters and Tammany hall. It was during the General's laconic speech in the convention in support of Cleveland's nomination that he gave his New York opponents a fatal stab when he declared that "we love Cleveland for the enemies he has made"— a sentence that aroused intense enthusiasm and did much to turn the tide of battle in Cleveland's favor. Cleveland rewarded Bragg for his friendship by appointing him minister to Mexico, but the quiet life of a diplomat was not congenial to his love of activity, and he returned home at the expiration of his term to take a leading part in the currency question that divided his party into two angry and irreconcilable factions. Bragg's contests for the nomination to Congress in his own district were usually attended by violent opposition in his own party, and on one occasion over 1,000 ballots were taken before a choice was made. But he generally succeeded; when he did not he dictated the choice, and it was not his chief opponent who was selected; for example, when Sumner was chosen over Delaney in 1882. General Bragg has always made it exceedingly interesting for the other Congressional aspirants in his district. His first round was with C. A. Eldridge, the regular Democratic candidate of the district for ten years, Bragg being defeated, but receiving the votes of the Republicans and War

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Democrats. In 1874, at the Democratic Congressional Convention of the Fifth district, Sam Burchard, of Dodge county; Conrad Krez, of Sheboygan county; Joseph Vilas, of Manitowoc county; and Edward S. Bragg, of Fond du Lac county, appeared as candidates for the nomination. Bragg finally turned his support over to Burchard, giving him the nomination, doing so without the knowledge of Burchard or his friends, but Dodge county delegates were so gratified that they voluntarily agreed that Bragg should have their support at the next convention. In 1876 Bragg had the entire vote in convention of all the counties in the district except Dodge, Dodge county voting for Delaney, with the exception of one vote from Watertown, which was given for Bragg, Bragg being nominated. In 1878 Bragg was renominated by unanimous vote of the convention excepting Dodge county, which voted for Delaney. In 1880 there was a repetition of 1878, Dodge county voting for Delaney.

Previous to the Congressional Convention of 1882 the district had been changed by taking out Manitowoc and Sheboygan counties and putting in Waukesha and Washington. In the convention Bragg and Delaney were the candidates, and the votes stood a tie between them for many hundred ballots, finally resulting in Sumner, of Waukesha, being nominated, he getting one vote from Waukesha county and Delaney's support. In 1884 Bragg and Delaney were again candidates before the convention, Bragg receiving all the votes in convention excepting Dodge county, which went to Delaney.

In 1886 Bragg was not a candidate and did not allow his name to go before the convention. He attended the convention as a delegate, however, and had his Democracy challenged by some of the Delaney following. Delaney (who was in the minority in the convention, and declared that unless he was given the nomination the district would go Republican) was finally given the nomination over O'Meara, of Washington county, and was defeated at the polls, every county in the district going against him by various majorities. This was a campaign in which Guenther, a nonresident of the district, was elected by a large majority, the only case of the kind in Wisconsin.

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George W. Cate, who took the place of Dr. McDill from the Eighth district, was a prominent lawyer, circuit judge and Democratic politician. He was a native of Montpelier, Vt., born in 1825. He was trained to the law and came to Wisconsin in 1845. His fine ability soon attracted the attention of his fellow citizens and he was elected to the Legislature in 1852-3. He was appointed by Speaker H. L. Palmer as one of the special committee on behalf of the Assembly to prosecute the impeachment trial of Judge Levi Hubbell, and his connection with that celebrated case brought him into wide and favorable notice as a lawyer. In 1854 he was elected circuit judge, and held that office for nearly twenty years. He resigned his judgeship in 1875 to take a seat in the Fifty-fourth Congress, to which he had been elected by the close majority of two votes, over Alexander S. McDill, Republican, who was his predecessor in the House of Representatives. Messrs. Magoon, Burchard, Kimball, Rusk and Cate, who were members of the Forty-fourth Congress (1875-77), were not reëlected to the Forty-fifth. George C. Hazelton took the place of Magoon in the Third; E. S. Bragg succeeded Burchard in the Fifth; Kimball gave way to Bouck; Rusk to Herman L. Humphrey in the Seventh, and Cate to Thaddeus C. Pound in the Eighth. These were all new men. Williams, Caswell and Lynde were reëlected. Hazelton, Bragg, Bouck and Humphrey had served with distinction in the State Senate and Pound had been Speaker pro tem. of the Assembly, and was Lieutenant Governor one term (1872-74). Bouck and Bragg had served with credit in the Union army. Humphrey had been a popular circuit judge, and Hazelton had been preceded in the Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses by his brother, Gerry W. Hazelton, from the old Second district. The two Hazeltons and the two Sloans were the only brothers ever elected to Congress from Wisconsin. Bouck enjoyed the distinction of being the son of a former Governor of New York, and of being Speaker of the Assembly in 1874, when the famous "Potter law" was passed, and he was credited with doing all he could to promote that far-reaching measure. He was Attorney General in 1858-60. In the Forty-sixth Congress (1879-81), all of the previous members were

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reëlected except Mr. Lynde, retired, and Peter V. Deuster took his seat from the Milwaukee district. Mr. Deuster had become widely known to the people of the State as the editor of The Milwaukee Seebote, a German Catholic Democratic newspaper of large circulation and wide influence. Mr. Deuster was a violent opponent of Mr. Lincoln's administration, and his method of carrying on the war, and some of his published anti-war editorials were so bitter that threats were openly made to raise a mob and throw the press and type of The Seebote into the Milwaukee river, and hang Mr. Deuster to the nearest lamp post. But instead of proceeding to such unlawful measures, better counsel prevailed, and instead of provoking mob violence, The Seebote was allowed to continue its daily issues, and its editor, long afterward, however, sent to Congress for six years. Later President Cleveland recognized his ability and party services by sending him back to his native city in Germany as consul for the United States.

There was but one change in the Forty-seventh Congress, Richard Guenther taking the place of Gabriel Bouck in the Sixth district—all the others holding over. Mr. Guenther was a prominent German-American who had served four years as State Treasurer, 1878-82.

The apportionment based upon the Federal census of 1880 gave Wisconsin nine members of the House, and when the Forty-eighth Congress assembled it was found that the Democrats occupied six of the nine seats, the first time that that party had secured a majority of the representatives since 1853, when Wells, Macy and Eastman were at the front, a period of thirty years. Bragg had dropped out from the Fifth district, Peter V. Deuster had been reëlected in the Fourth, and the three other Democratic members were new men. John Winans, from the Janesville district, had defeated "Charley" Williams, a most extraordinary performance, as the district had always been overwhelmingly Republican. Winans had been a leading Democratic politician, for many years a lawyer of recognized ability, related to the famous Winans family of Baltimore, and was a strong man every way. Daniel H. Sumner was a resident of Waukesha, and was nominated in the Second district as a compromise candidate to settle, for the

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time being, the old feud between Gen. Edward S. Bragg and A. K. Delaney. Burr W. Jones, from the Madison district, a new man and a good one, had, like Winans, taken advantage of the disagreement in the Republican ranks, and spent one term in Congress. Joseph Rankin, from the Fifth district, who succeeded Bragg, had been conspicuous in State politics, and had served in the State Legislature, was chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee in 1877-9, and was at all times very popular with all parties. Gilbert M. Woodward was elected in the strong Republican Seventh district. He had a printing office education, a lawyer by profession, had served four years in the Union army, and had fought in some of the bloodiest battles of the Civil war. He was a delegate to the Union Convention that nominated Horace Greeley for President in 1872, and to the Democratic National Convention at Cincinnati in 1880, which nominated General Hancock. Of the three Republican members in that Congress, Richard Guenther was reëlected, but it was the first appearance in Washington of William T. Price and Isaac Stephenson—Price supplanting Judge Humphrey, and Stephenson succeeding Pound. Price and Stephenson had both made fortunes in the lumber trade, and both had been active in the State Legislature and in the councils of the Republican party.

Edward S. Bragg and Lucien B. Caswell, who had been dropped out of the previous Congress, came back to the Forty-ninth. Robert M. La Follette, Republican, took the place of Burr Jones in the Madison district, and Isaac W. Van Schaick displaced P. V. Deuster in the Fourth. Mr. La Follette was the second native of Wisconsin to be elected to Congress, having been born in Dane county June 14, 1855. He was a graduate of the State University, and was one of the youngest members of the Forty-ninth Congress. He soon made his mark in the House, and served on the Committee of Ways and Means with President McKinley, with whom he became a great favorite. At the Republican State Convention Mr. La Follette has twice made a gallant fight for the nomination for Governor. He had a large and enthusiastic following. He is still a young man, and his public career has not yet ended. Two deaths occurred in the Wisconsin

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delegation during that session. Joseph Rankin died and Thomas R. Hudd was elected in his place, and William T. Price was followed by his son, Hugh H. Price, who filled out the unexpired term. Ormsby B. Thomas took the place of Gilbert M. Woodward. He had served with great credit in both branches of the State Legislature, and in the Union army. He was a presidential elector in 1872.

The representation in the Fiftieth Congress consisted of seven Republicans, one Democrat and Henry Smith, Labor Union. The Republicans were all old members but C. B. Clark and Nils P. Haugen.

In the Fifty-first Congress the Republicans held their own, electing seven of the nine members, and the Democrats two—Barwig and Brickner. In the Fourth district Van Schaick took his old seat, after it had been occupied one term by Henry Smith. The only new man in the delegation on the Republican side was Myron H. McCord, who was elected in the Ninth, instead of Isaac Stephenson. McCord served through the Fifty-first Congress and then removed to Arizona, where he soon became active in territorial politics, being appointed Governor by President McKinley in 1897.

In the election of Representatives to the Fifty-second Congress, 1890, the Democrats rallied all their forces at the polls and elected eight of the nine members. The new members were Babbitt, Barwig, Bushnell, Mitchell, Brickner, Miller, Coburn and Lynch.

The reapportionment based on the census of 1890 gave the State ten districts. At the election of 1892, the Republicans carried four of these, electing H. A. Cooper in the First, Joseph W. Babcock in the Third and George B. Shaw in the Seventh, besides reëlecting Haugen as the member from the Tenth. The Democratic members who were reëlected were Barwig, Mitchell, Brickner and Lynch. Their new men in the delegation were Owen A. Wells and Lyman E. Barnes. Mitchell resigned before the commencement of his new term, and Peter J. Somers, also a Democrat, was elected in his place. Shaw died on the 27th of August, 1894, and at a special election the Republicans chose Gen. Michael Griffin to fill out his term.

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In the election of members for the Fifty-fourth Congress, the Republicans made a clean sweep, electing the whole delegation. Cooper, Babcock and Griffin were continued in office. The new men were Edward Sauerhering, Theobald Otjen, Samuel S. Barney, Samuel A. Cook, Edward S. Minor, Alexander Stewart and John J. Jenkins. In the Fifty-fifth Congress the delegation continued unchanged, except that James H. Davidson, Republican, took the place of Cook, who declined to accept a renomination. In the Fifty-sixth Congress Wisconsin is still represented by a solid Republican delegation, comprising all the members of the delegation to the previous Congress except Sauerhering and Griffin, the new men being Herman Bjorn Dahle and John J. Esch.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

SOME OF THE BOSSES.

After the breaking out of the slaveholders' rebellion, in 1861, the Democratic party was so heavily in the minority, and so easily beaten at the polls, that the chairman of the State Central Committee had a comparatively easy time of it. The defeat of his party was a foregone conclusion before the candidates were put in the field, and as there was no money to spend for campaign purposes there was none spent, but, like an ox in a blizzard turning his tail to the storm, the party kept up its organization, fought on the defensive as well as it could and faced the inevitable. For twelve years, beginning with the Thirty-fifth Congress, 1859, to the close of the Forty-first Congress, 1871, the Democrats had only one member of Congress, and during three of these they had not a single representative in the House of Representatives. When the new apportionment was made based upon the census of 1860 and the State given six members the Democrats succeeded in electing James S. Brown in the First district, and Charles A. Eldridge in the Fifth; but Brown was displaced by Gen. Halbert E. Paine in the Thirty-ninth Congress, leaving the incorrigible and hard-headed Eldridge—known in Congress as the Great Objector—as the only Democratic member until 1871, when Alexander Mitchell was elected in the First district. In 1877 the Democratic membership was increased by one, General Bragg taking the place of Burchard in the Fifth, Lynde representing the Milwaukee district, and Bouck succeeding Kimball in the Sixth. When the election of Congressmen took place in 1883, under the new apportionment law, the Democrats elected six out of the nine members, and it looked as though that party was coming back into power in the State. But at the next ensuing election the Republicans elected seven of the nine members, and it was not

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until 1891 that the Democrats increased their representation. The condition of party representation in Congress in 1857, with three members, all Republicans, was repeated in 1895, when Wisconsin sent an entire delegation of ten Republicans to represent her in Washington, and still continues.

In managing their campaigns the Democrats of the State did not follow the example of their more successful Republican opponents and keep one man at the head of affairs as long as possible, but with an occasional exception they elected a new chairman every two years, thus depriving the party of the benefit that had been acquired by an acquaintance with the voters and experience in dealing with them. In 1861 the convention elected Beriah Brown, who was then editor of a Democratic paper in Madison, and an old wheel-horse in the party. It was a bad year for his party, and Mr. Brown was glad to resign his post at the next State Convention, 1863, when Charles A. Eldridge, then a member of the Thirty-eighth Congress, took his place. It was during Eldridge's management that the party sustained its greatest reverse up to that time, when James T. Lewis defeated Henry L. Palmer for Governor of the State. Two years later, 1865, Mr. Eldridge was supplanted by Andrew Proudfit, an old Madison politician, who did not prove to be much of a boss. He took little interest in the party's affairs, and it was with pleasure to himself that he turned the office over to George H. Paul when the convention assembled in 1867. Paul was an old editor and skillful politician, and the best selection for chairman that had been made up to that time. But public sentiment was too much for Paul, and he had no gains for his party to show either in Congress or in the State Legislature where a United States Senator was to be elected in place of James R. Doolittle. Henry L. Palmer acted as chairman of the committee from 1869 to 1871, and Andrew Proudfit was again chosen for two years, and at the end of that time he again turned the management over to George H. Paul, as he had in 1867. This time everything conspired to aid Paul in making the success of his party a certainty. There was much apathy in the Republican ranks; the times were hard, business was depressed, and the discontented voter clamored for

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a change. When Governor Washburn's term ended, Paul and others easily formed a combination with all the elements that were opposed to the Republicans, and the election of William R. Taylor and a full set of Democratic State officers was the result. The first Democratic success in electing a Governor since Barstow relinquished the office in 1855, made Paul very popular and caused much rejoicing among his party associates. He was the confidential friend of Taylor all the way through, and was credited with writing the Governor's messages. Paul's place was taken in 1875 by Wendell A. Anderson, under whose management Taylor was beaten in his race for reëlection for Governor by Harrison Ludington, but the Democrats held a firm grip upon all the other State offices. In 1877 Joseph Rankin was placed in command. He was considered an adroit politician, popular with all parties, and afterwards elected to the Forty-eighth and reëlected to the Forty-ninth Congress, but died before his term of service ended. From 1879 to 1881 A. C. Parkinson was chairman of the committee; from 1881 to 1885 it fell again to W. A. Anderson from 1885 to 1887 to W. A. Walker; from April, 1887, to January 15, 1890, E. B. Usher was the head. Mr. E. C. Wall was called to the front in 1890, when George W. Peck was elected Governor of the State, and he filled the position continuously for six years, to the satisfaction of himself and the great acceptance of his party. Peck was reëlected Governor, and a majority secured in the Legislature, whereby it was possible to elect William F. Vilas to the Senate of the United States. When Mr. Wall declined to serve his party any longer in the office of chairman of the State Central Committee, the choice of the convention fell upon ex-Gov. George W. Peck, who conducted the campaign in 1897 upon the Chicago platform and in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The result was that Mr. W. C. Silverthorn, the silver candidate for Governor, was beaten by Maj. Scofield, the Republican candidate, by a plurality of 95,000. Judge Silverthorn, however, polled 27,000 more votes than Peck polled in 1894.

When party spirit runs high we often fail to give proper credit to our political adversaries. The development of Wisconsin has been largely due to the labors, wisdom and statesmanship of the

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[illegible] When Governor Washburn's term expired, Paul and [illegible] easily formed a combination with all the elements that were [illegible] to the Republicans, and the election of William R. Taylor [illegible] and a full set of Democratic State officers was the result. The [illegible] most decisive success in electing a Governor since Barstow [illegible] relinquished the office in 1855. [illegible] Paul was very popular and [illegible] rejoicing among his party associates. He was [illegible] confidential friend of Taylor all the way through, and was [illegible] with writing the Governor's messages. Paul's place was [illegible] in 1875 by Harlow S. Anderson, under whose [illegible] was beaten in his race for reelection by Governor [illegible] Harrison Ludington, but the Democrats [illegible] all the other State offices. In 1877 Joseph Rankin was placed in [illegible] He was considered an able and popular with all parties, and afterwards elected to the Forty-[illegible] and re-elected to the Forty-ninth Congress, but died before the term of service ended. From 1870 to 1881 W. C. Pfaffenson was chairman of the committee, from 1881 to 1885 William [illegible] to W. A. Anderson from 1885 to 1887 to W. A. W[illegible]; from April, 1887, to January 15, 1890, F. B. Usher [illegible] and F. C. Wall was called to the front in 1890 when George W. Peck was elected Governor of the State, and [illegible] the position [illegible] for six years to the satisfaction [illegible] and [illegible] of his party. Peck was reelected Governor, and a majority secured in the Legislature, whereby it was possible to elect William F. Vilas to the Senate of the United States. When Mr. Wall declined to serve his party any longer in the office of chairman of the State Central Committee, the choice of the convention fell upon ex-Gov. George W. Peck, who conducted the campaign in 1897 upon the Chicago platform and in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The result was that Mr. W. C. Silverthorn, the silver candidate [illegible] Governor, was beaten by Maj. Scofield, the Republican [illegible] a plurality of 95,000. Judge Silverthorn, however, polled [illegible] votes than Peck polled in 1894.

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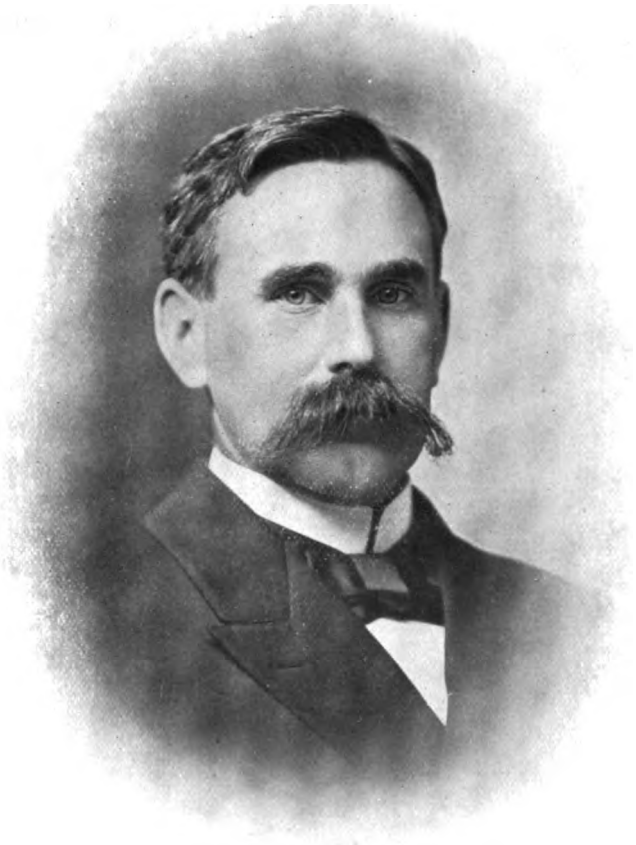

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Democratic party. The foundations upon which our present prosperity depends were laid by men of other days. During the territorial epoch, from July 4, 1836, when the territorial officers appointed by General Jackson took the oath of office, until the State was admitted into the Union, May 29, 1848, all the public offices were filled by Democrats and everything of a public character necessarily had a Democratic coloring. There seemed to be a pleasant flavor contained in the name of Democracy which left a good taste in the mouths of those who used it, so much so the Whigs called some of their conventions in early days by the name of the "Democratic Whigs!" A Democratic Governor appointed all the subordinate officers; Democratic Federal judges appointed by the President tried all causes; Democrats organized the territorial legislatures, as a general thing, and filled all the offices; Democrats were in the majority during every Territorial Council and House of Representatives while Wisconsin was a territory, and they took a leading part in and were responsible for the character of the laws passed; all the territorial Governors were Democrats, and all the territorial delegates in Congress were Democrats except one—John H. Tweedy—and his election was owing in part to the unpopularity of his Democratic opponent, Moses M. Strong, and to his own superior qualifications for the position. When steps were taken to have the territory admitted into the Union on an equality with the other States, the Democrats took the initiative. The location of the capitol at Madison was made by Democrats; the public buildings were built by Democrats, and the public printing was let to members of the same political party. When the first convention met to frame a State Constitution a large majority of the delegates were Democrats, and the same was true of the second convention. In both conventions, although there were many distinguished and able members of the old Whig party present whose labors were of great value, and some delegates had been chosen without reference to their political opinions, the Democrats took charge of the organization, appointed all the standing and special committees, and gave form and color to the proceedings. When the first constitution was submitted to a vote of the people and was rejected, many Whigs voted against it because they

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thought that some of the Democratic theories of government to which they were opposed had been incorporated in it. The present constitution is, in the main, the work of Democratic hands. As has been stated in a previous chapter, the very features of the first constitution which were regarded as so objectionable have since been incorporated in our statutes, thus proving the wisdom of those who formed the first instrument. The act establishing the State University was passed by a Democratic Legislature; the Board of Regents for many years was mostly composed of Democrats, and on the 12th day of June, 1838, a Democratic Congress made an appropriation of the amount of land asked for by the territorial Legislature, "which was the fundamental endowment of that noble University whose spacious buildings now adorn the capitol of the State, and whose facilities and capacity for educating its youth reflected much credit upon those who have manifested so great an interest and such untiring perseverance in promoting its welfare!" (see Strong's history of the Territory of Wisconsin). The prime movers in the establishment and care of the State Historical Society—the pride of every scholar in Wisconsin, and the admiration of all our neighbors—were prominent members of the Democratic party, aided and encouraged by the educated and progressive men of all parties. A Democratic editor, Chauncey C. Britt, first called public attention to the importance of such an institution, and Lyman C. Draper, who did more for its benefit than any other man, was a member of that political party. It was a Democrat, Judge Charles H. Larrabee, who induced Mr. Draper to come to Wisconsin and take charge of the Society's affairs. Prominent among its promoters were such men as A. Hyatt Smith, its first president; James D. Doty, Thomas P. Burnett, Gen. William R. Smith, George Hyer, Morgan L. Martin, John Y. Smith, Gen. Harrison C. Hobart, Samuel Crawford, Nelson Dewey, and others.

It was a Democratic Legislature that abolished the cruel and inhuman law of imprisonment for debt—a relic of barbarism which the territory inherited from Michigan and in force here until 1837. It was a Democratic Legislature that passed, and a Democratic Governor who signed, the act abolishing capital punishment in

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Wisconsin. The State prison, the Hospital for the Insane at Madison; the institute for the education of the deaf and dumb, and the blind, had their origin in bills appropriating money by Democratic Legislatures. The most stringent license law ever passed by the Legislature of any State was enacted in January, 1849, by a Legislature that was overwhelmingly Democratic, and signed by Governor Nelson Dewey, and known at the time as the Wisconsin Bond law. It made the liquor seller give a penal bond of $1,000 with three or more sufficient sureties, "conditioned to pay all damages, to support all widows, orphans and paupers, pay all the expenses of all civil and criminal prosecutions made, growing out of such traffic, that the community or individuals may sustain by reason of such traffic." This was regulating the sale of intoxicants with a vengeance. In 1853 the question of passing a prohibitory liquor law was submitted to a vote of the people, the State being heavily Democratic, and it was adopted by over 3,000 majority. It was a Democratic Legislature which passed the first law in Wisconsin that curbed the aggressive spirit of the railroad corporations of the State, and it was a Democratic Chief Justice of the Supreme Court who wrote the opinion declaring that the Legislature had the right to fix rates on railroads and regulate traffic within the State. It was a Democratic Justice of the Supreme Court who wrote the opinion declaring the two apportionment acts passed by Democratic Legislatures to be unconstitutional and void, and it was a Democratic administration that brought suit against the former State Treasurers and recovered a large amount of money that went into the State treasury.

At the State Convention which convened in Madison on July 13, 1854, to organize the Republican party, the first State Central Committee was appointed. It was composed of William A. White, of Dane, as chairman; J. A. Sleeper, of Rock; John Walworth, of Green; D. W. Hall, of Dodge; Wyman Spooner, of Walworth; Orsamus Cole, of Grant; and Dr. E. B. Wolcott and C. A. Wunderly, of Milwaukee. This was a most noteworthy committee. At the State Convention which assembled in Madison the next year, a new committee was appointed and by resolution William A. White, David Atwood and E. W. Keyes were appointed a

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committee from the State at large, with S. S. Daggett, S. J. Porter, W. C. Rogers, J. C. Holt, D. E. Wood and L. F. Frisby, making up a committee from the districts, with William A. White again as chairman. At the Republican Convention that convened at Madison June 5, 1856, a new committee was created and L. P. Harvey, afterwards Governor of the State, was appointed chairman, and at the convention of September 4, 1857, the committee was again reconstructed with H. A. Tenney, of Dane, as chairman. So it appears that a new committee was created in each of the years '54, '55, '56 and '57. At the convention held August 31, 1859, Horace Rublee and E. W. Keyes were appointed from the State at large, with Horace Rublee as chairman, and the balance of the committee selected from the different Congressional districts of the State. The next convention was held September 26, 1861, at which time Horace Rublee was reappointed chairman. The next convention assembled August 23, 1863, and was a most notable one. Its opening was stormy and presaged dissension and strife, but it closed with the best of feeling, and its action was accepted in a harmonious spirit. The contest for the nomination of Governor was between the acting Governor, Edward Salomon, who succeeded to the office on the death of Governor Harvey, and James T. Lewis, who was then Secretary of State. Both Salomon and Lewis had come to the Republicans from the Democratic party, after the breaking out of the war. Mr. Lewis received the nomination after a hot contest. At this convention Lucius Fairchild received his first nomination for Secretary of State, and was formally initiated into the Republican party. Senator Doolittle was a prominent figure in the convention, and it was through his influence chiefly that Fairchild was induced to accept the nomination. Doolittle had prepared a resolution creating a central committee, in which E. W. Keyes was named for chairman, but before its introduction Mr. Keyes declined the position and insisted upon the substitution of Mr. Rublee's name in place of his own. Mr. Rublee was unanimously appointed. In 1865 Mr. Rublee was reappointed chairman, with E. L. Buttrick, J. C. Cover, J. M. Gillett, H. L. Belitz and W. T. Price as the committee. Mr. Rublee was again appointed in 1867. The next

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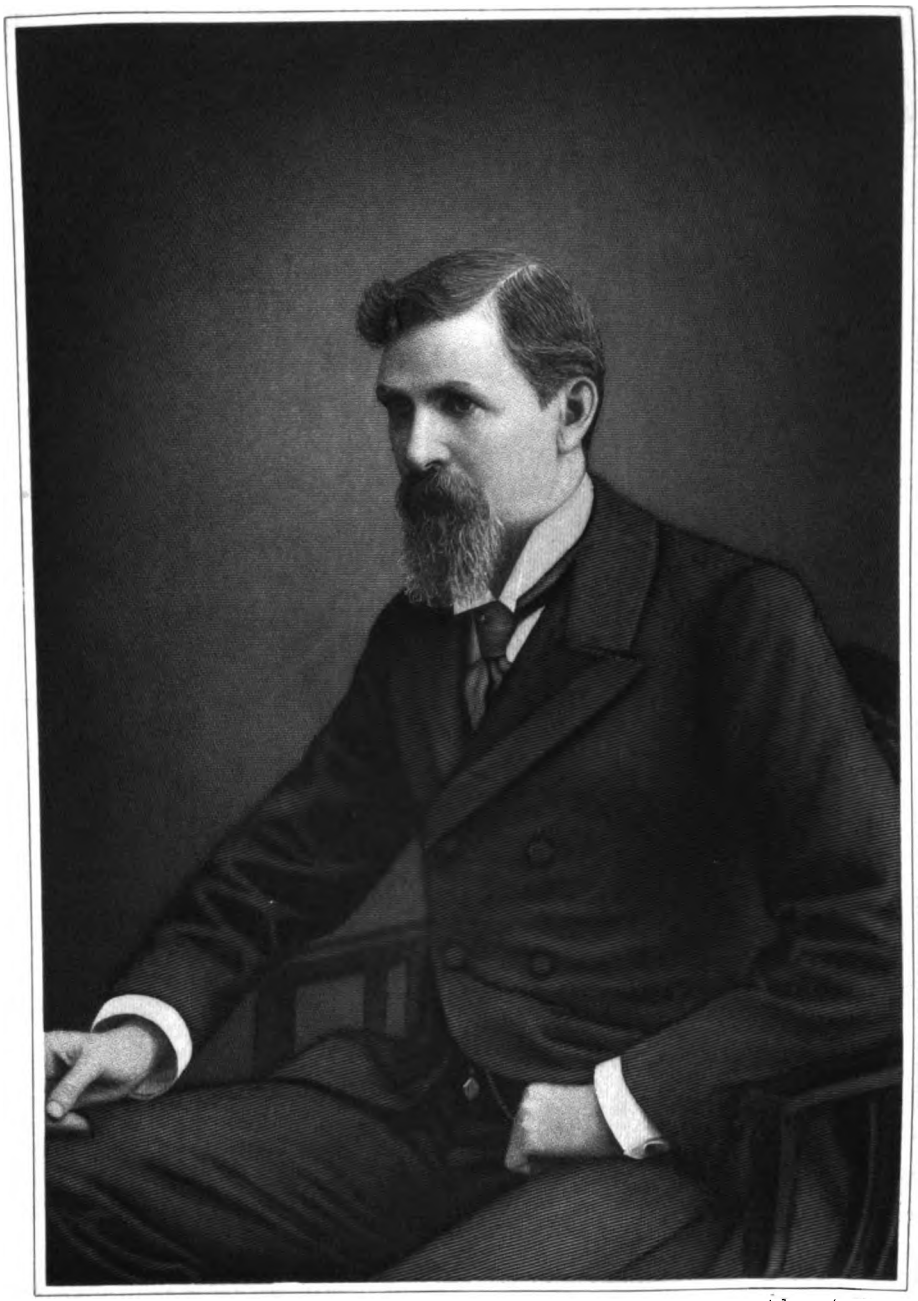
committee [illegible] state at large, with S. S. Daggett, S. J. Parker, W. [illegible] gers, J. C. H. E. D. [illegible] Woodward, L. E. Frisby, [illegible] committee for the districts, with William A. White [illegible] At the Republican Convention that convened [illegible] 1856, a new committee was created and [illegible] Harvey, [illegible] Governor of the State, was appointed [illegible], and at the convention of September 4, 1857, the committee was [illegible] constituted [illegible] H. A. Tenney, of Dane, as chairman. [illegible] appears that a new committee was created for each of the years 1854, 55, [illegible] and [illegible] At the convention held August [illegible], [illegible], Horace Rublee and E. W. Keyes were appointed from the State at large, with Horace Rublee as chairman, and members of the committee selected from the different Congressional districts of the State. The next convention was held September 26, 1861, at which time Horace Rublee was appointed chairman. The [illegible] convention was convened August 23, 1863, and was a most [illegible] one. Its meeting was stormy and presaged dissension and strife, but it closed with the best of feeling, and its action was accepted in a [illegible] manner. The contest for the nomination for Governor was between the acting Governor, Edward Solomon, who succeeded to the office on the death of Governor Harvey, and James [illegible] Lewis, who was then Secretary of State, both Solomon and Lewis had come to the Republicans from the Democratic party, after the breaking out of the war. Mr. Lewis received the nomination after a hot contest. At this convention Lucius Fairchild received his first nomination for Secretary of State, and was formally initiated into the Republican party. Senator Doolittle was a prominent figure in the convention, and it was through his influence chiefly that Fairchild was indebted to the nomination. Doolittle had prepared a resolution creating a committee, in which E. W. Keyes was named for [illegible] Before its introduction Mr. Keyes declined the position [illegible] upon the substitution of Mr. Rublee's name in [illegible]. Mr. Rublee was unanimously appointed. In [illegible] he was reappointed chairman, with E. L. Buttrick, [illegible] M. Gillett, H. L. Ehlitz and W. T. Price as the [illegible] Rublee was again appointed in 1867. The next



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convention assembled in Madison September 1, 1869. Mr. Rublee had been appointed minister to Switzerland, and a new man had to be elected in his place. Mr. E. W. Keyes was made chairman. The other members were Gen. F. C. Winkler, G. W. Hazelton, John R. Bennett, O. B. Thomas, A. Scott Sloan, James Coleman, Henry Kleinpell, Frank Leland, A. Guesnier, G. H. Gile, H. B. Philleo and G. W. Woodward. All the members of this committee afterward became prominent in our politics. Judge Keyes was for eight years chairman of the State Committee, and was a prominent candidate for the United States Senate in the hot contest of 1879; three of the others were elected to Congress, namely, Hazelton, Thomas and Sloan; Judge Bennett was elected circuit judge; Gen. Winkler was twice a candidate for Congress, and three of the others were prominent Republican editors in the State.

Mr. Keyes was reëlected chairman in 1871-'73 and '75, each time by ballot. At the convention that assembled September 11, 1877, in calling the convention to order Mr. Keyes made the announcement that he should decline the election as chairman for another term. Mr. Horace Rublee, who had returned from his mission abroad, was prevailed upon to accept his old position as chairman, and he was unanimously elected. In 1879 R. H. Baker, of Racine, was appointed chairman and served one term. Mr. Edward Sanderson was elected chairman in 1881, and served two years. In 1884 Horace A. Taylor was elected chairman of the committee, and was reëlected in 1886, serving four years. In August, 1888, the State Convention was held in the city of Milwaukee, and Henry C. Payne was elected chairman, and was reëlected in 1890. In 1892 Mr. H. C. Thom was appointed chairman of the committee, and was reëlected in 1894. Mr. Thom died before the expiration of his term, and E. D. Coe was appointed in his place. The chairman in the successful campaign of 1898 was Joseph B. Treat, who holds the position at the present time.

The two longest terms as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee were served by Horace Rublee, twelve years, and E. W. Keyes, eight years—the two gentlemen named directing the affairs of the party during twenty of the forty-six years of its existence.

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While it is customary to refer to the heads of political campaign committees as "bosses," and to charge them with all sorts of sinister ambitions and methods of operation while they are in power, it is the popular judgment regarding the men of both the principal political parties in Wisconsin who have held the posts of generals-in-chief during the campaigns of the past forty years, that they have been citizens of bright intelligence and large ability who have worked devotedly for the success of political principles in which they enthusiastically believed. The political history of Wisconsin has, during the whole of that period, been remarkably free from scandal. Questions at issue have been hotly contested, and there has at times been some acrimony, but the votes of the people have decided the result, and there has never been any doubt that, minor local disputes out of the question, those votes have been counted as they were cast. Wisconsin has gained an enviable reputation as a clean, orderly, well-governed State—a model which certain of her sister commonwealths would do well to follow—and the elevated character of the men who have held political chairmanships has no doubt been a factor in producing her creditable record.

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CHAPTER XXV.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

It was Emerson who said, "There is properly no history, only biography." Of course he did not mean to be literally understood. His object was to make an epigram that should sharply call attention to an important truth by overstating it. There is history, but there is biography also, and biography supplements and illuminates history to an extent which is appreciable no less in this age than it was in the age of Plutarch. The collection presented herewith of sketches of men who have contributed and are contributing to the making of the political history of Wisconsin, is representative, but lays no claim to completeness. Had Mr. Thomson lived, he would have lent to the presentation of the facts here outlined the graces of his literary style. As it is, they are baldly set forth by another hand. But they are facts which, lacking the adventitious aid of ornament, possess no small degree of interest. It is significant that almost without exception the men who have risen to political prominence in Wisconsin were poor boys, obliged to struggle in order to obtain scholastic training, and in some cases forced to go without more than the merest rudiments of that culture which comes from systematic study under the supervision of teachers in the high school, the academy, and the college. William P. Lyon, who became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was a clerk in a country store at the early age of 11. Jeremiah M. Rusk, who rose to be a Brigadier-General in the Civil War, three times elected Congressman, three times elected Governor of the State, and a useful member of the Cabinet of President Harrison, had but a few terms of rural schooling and was by his father's death left with the responsibility of working a large farm and caring for his mother and sister at the age of 16. Very few of those who entered college were able to do so until they had, by their

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own exertions, earned sufficient money to pay their way. Yet all achieved position and influence and honor, and several amassed great wealth. Biography such as that which portrays Wisconsin's political leaders, contains inspiring lessons for all young men.

DANIEL WELLS, JR.

Daniel Wells, Jr., was born in Waterville, Kennebec county, Maine, July 16, 1808. His father was a farmer, and the owner of a custom carding and cloth dressing mill. The boy obtained his schooling in the winter. In the summer he worked on the farm. But he made such progress in his studies as to qualify him for instructing others, and before he was 20 he had taught a district school for two terms. While thus engaged, he found time to obtain some practical knowledge of the science of navigation. At the age of 22 he invested his savings in a stock of produce which he took in a coaster to Magnolia, Florida, where he disposed of it to advantage. He there became a partner with a young man who had secured a contract to make a survey of government lands. This undertaking proved profitable to both of them, though Mr. Wells found exposure in the Florida swamps detrimental to his health. Returning to Maine, he opened a general store at Palmyra, in the fall of 1831, and that winter married Miss Marcia Bryant, daughter of Dr. Bezer Bryant, of Anson. In 1835, in company with Winthrop W. Gilman, he made a journey to the West, in search of investments, and purchased a number of town lots in Milwaukee, and lands in other parts of the State. He had sold out his business in Palmyra in the spring of 1835, and the following year, with his family, he removed to Milwaukee. He had not been three months in his new home when Gov. Dodge appointed him justice of the peace for Milwaukee county, which then embraced, in addition to what it does now, the territory at present forming Washington, Ozaukee, Jefferson, Racine, Walworth and Kenosha counties. In March, 1837, he was elected a member of the executive committee of the claim organization formed to protect the squatters until they could get titles to their land from the government. In 1838 he was a trustee of the east side of Milwau-

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[illegible] Jr., was [illegible] Waterville, Kennebec [illegible] 1833. His [illegible] as a farmer, and [illegible] owner of [illegible] g mill. He [illegible] his [illegible] winter, [illegible] summer he worked on the farm. [illegible] prog[illegible] as studies as to qu[illegible]. Em[illegible] for [illegible], and [illegible] he was 20 he had to [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] ns. [illegible] ris engaged, he found [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] knew [illegible] of the science of navigation. At the age [illegible] west [illegible] a [illegible] a stock of produce which he took [illegible] aster [illegible] gueho, Florida, where he disposed of it to [illegible] He [illegible] became a partner with a young man who had [illegible] a [illegible] to make a survey of government lands. This undertaking [illegible] ed profitable to both of them, though Mr. Wells found exp[illegible] in the Flo[illegible] swamps prejudicial to his health. Retur[illegible] to Maine, he opened a general store at Pal[illegible]yra, in the [illegible] of 1831, and that winter married Mi[illegible] [illegible] nt, daug[illegible] of Dr. Bezer Bryant, of Vassalboro. In [illegible], in co[illegible] with W[illegible]rop W. Gilman, he made a j[illegible]ey to the West, [illegible]ch of investments, and purchased a number of town lots in [illegible], and lands in other parts of the State. He had sold [illegible]siness in Palmyra in the spring of 1835, and the follow[illegible], with his family, he removed to Milwaukee. He had [illegible] [illegible]ree months in his new home when Gov. Dodge appointed [illegible] of the peace for Milwaukee county, which then [illegible] in addition to what it does now, the territory at present [illegible] Washington, Ozaukee, Jefferson, Racine, Walworth and [illegible]. In March, 1837, he was elected a member of [illegible] committee of the claim organization formed to pro[illegible] squatters until they could get titles to their land from the [illegible]. In 1838 he was a trustee of the east side of Milwau-

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kee, and on the 4th of September of that year he was appointed probate judge. In 1841 he was elected a fire warden. In 1842 he served as under-sheriff, and the same year was appointed commissioner in bankruptcy, and held the office until the law was repealed. He also held the office of county supervisor and town surveyor. In 1838 he was elected a member of the Territorial Council, and was active in securing the passage of the law which provided that taxes should be assessed against land alone, and not on improvements. This law, which disappeared with the circumstances that called it forth, was intended to protect actual settlers against non-residents who held large tracts of land for speculation. He was conspicuously influential in securing the passage of the bill granting a charter to the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company, which for many years conducted the greatest banking institution in the West. In 1851 he was Wisconsin Commissioner to the first world's fair. In 1852 he was elected to Congress on the Democratic ticket from the First district of Wisconsin. Without pretensions as a speaker or debater, he was extraordinarily efficient in promoting legislation advantageous to Wisconsin. He introduced bills granting lands to the State in aid of the construction of railroads throughout its limits. He also introduced a bill providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a government building in Milwaukee, and secured an appropriation of $50,000 therefor, which, at the next session, was increased by an additional appropriation of $38,000. He was active in securing appropriations for the improvement of the harbors of Milwaukee, Racine and Kenosha, the reduction of the rates of ocean postage, and the regulation of the foreign coasting trade on our northeastern and northwestern frontiers. He was re-elected to the next Congress, and took a conspicuous part in the election of N. P. Banks as speaker. To the work of Mr. Wells at this session, Minnesota is largely indebted for her grants of public lands in aid of her railroad system. At the end of his second term in Congress he declined a re-election. For many years Mr. Wells was one of the most conspicuous figures in the business circles of Milwaukee. He built the City Hotel, now the Kirby House, the first brick hotel in the city. He engaged in the stor-

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age and shipping trade; dealt largely in grain and wool; was one of the organizers of the Madison, Watertown & Milwaukee Plank Road company, and from 1847 to the present time has been largely engaged in the lumber trade, and has been associated with many of the lumbermen in Wisconsin and Michigan in all branches of the business. He has been interested in the banking business, having been a director of the Wisconsin Marine & Fire Insurance bank for many years, and president of the Green Bay bank and of its successor, the First National of La Crosse. He was vice-president of the old Board of Trade, has long been a member of the Chamber of Commerce, and is a director of the Northwestern National Insurance Company. He was one of the organizers of the various branches of what is now the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway system, to which, more than any other instrumentality, is due the rapid development of the resources of the State. He was one of the incorporators of the Milwaukee & Mississippi and the Milwaukee & Watertown Railroad companies, and was president of the latter after it became the Milwaukee & La Crosse railroad. He was also president and director of the Southern Minnesota and of the St. Paul & Minnesota Valley roads. Though in his ninety-second year, Mr. Wells is still capable of attending to business, and his tall figure is familiar on the streets of Milwaukee.

D. A. J. UPHAM.

Don Alonzo Joshua Upham was a descendant of John Upham, who immigrated from the west of England in 1635 and settled first at Weymouth and later at Malden, near Boston, Massachusetts. It was on the 31st of May, 1809, a year noted for the birth of celebrated men, that D. A. J. Upham first saw the light in Windsor county, Vermont, whither his parents had moved from a farm in the Connecticut valley. He was carefully educated, and was graduated with the highest honors from Union College, New York, in 1831. For three years thereafter he was assistant Professor of Mathematics in Delaware College, and then, being destined for the law, entered the office of

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Hon. James A. Bayard, of Wilmington, being admitted to the bar in 1835. In the same year he was elected city attorney of Wilmington. In 1834 he had become editor and proprietor of the Delaware Gazette and American Watchman, for which he had been a writer while studying law, and he continued his editorial work, in connection with his other duties, until 1837. Then he visited the West, and, after a protracted examination of various localities, settled in Milwaukee, where he resided till his death, July 19, 1877. Here he at once became conspicuous as a lawyer and an enterprising man of affairs. In 1840-1 he was a member of the Territorial Council of Wisconsin; in 1843 he was prosecuting attorney for Milwaukee county, and in 1846 he was elected a member of the first Constitutional Convention, by which body he was chosen to be its president. In 1849 and 1850 he was mayor of the city of Milwaukee. In 1851 he was the candidate of the Democratic party for Governor of the State, and came within a few votes of election. Subsequent disclosures have led many to believe that Mr. Upham was in fact elected Governor and should have served as such. From 1857 to 1861 he was United States district attorney for the district of Wisconsin. Mr. Upham's first case of importance in the territory illustrates the difficulties in the transaction of business in those days, and how far the State has advanced in the space of one generation. Mr. Upham was retained to take an appeal to the Territorial Supreme Court to enjoin a judgment sale of a large amount of property in Milwaukee. Two of the judges were out of the territory, and the third one, Judge Dunn, lived in the extreme southwestern limit of the territory. The only thing to be done was to appeal to him, but this involved a ride on horseback of some one hundred and seventy-five miles. The time was short, but Mr. Upham made the trip, secured the injunction, and, by riding day and night, returned one hour before the sale was advertised to take place. Some of Mr. Upham's experiences on that trip were thrilling, and even perilous, including a struggle to escape a widespread prairie fire, and would read strangely to those who are familiar only with the facilities for travel and the transaction of business at the present day in Wisconsin. In 1863, after thirty years of arduous exertion, Mr. Upham's health

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failed, and he retired from professional life and took no further part in public affairs. Tenney and Atwood's "Fathers of Wisconsin" contains the following estimate of his character: "Mr. Upham was by inclination and by habit a student, preferring the quiet of study and professional labor to a public career. His ambition was honest and pure. He accepted official position from necessity rather than choice, neither seeking public honors nor avoiding them when voluntarily tendered by his fellow citizens. In all relations of life his highest aim was an honest and conscientious discharge of duty. He was neither depressed by defeat nor elevated by success, but kept the even tenor of his way, and was ever alike esteemed by both friends and political opponents. His record, in all senses, was worthy of the pioneer era of American history."

GEN. RUFUS KING.

Rufus King, son of Charles King, LL.D., and Eliza Gracie, his wife, and grandson of Rufus King, twice minister to England and twenty years United States Senator from New York, was born at No. 3 Pearl street, New York City, January 26, 1814. His boyhood was spent in New York, and his early education entrusted to an old French soldier scholar (M. Peugnet) who emigrated to America after Waterloo. At the age of fifteen, King entered the Military Academy at West Point, and was graduated when only nineteen and commissioned in the Corps of Engineers United States Army, standing number four in a large and brilliant class, prominent in which were John G. Barnard and George W. Cullum. King's first duty was in the construction of Fortress Monroe, where he was associated with Lieutenant Robert E. Lee, of the Engineers, but he was soon transferred to duty in connection with the improvement of the navigation of the Hudson River, his office being in Albany. In September, 1836, he resigned from the army to become Assistant Engineer of the New York & Erie Railway, then being surveyed, and held his position until 1839, when, the new enterprise becoming crippled in its finances, he returned to Albany, accepting the Adjutant Generalship of the State tendered him by Gov. William H. Seward, who was just entering

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upon his first term. This office, despite his youth, General King discharged with marked credit for the four years of Seward's incumbency. Meantime the inherent editorial stuff in him had attracted the attention of both Mr. Seward and his stanch friend, Thurlow Weed, and King became, under Weed's tutelage, associate editor of the Albany Evening Journal, making his home in that city and becoming captain of the famous Burgesses Corps. In 1836 King was married to Ellen, daughter of Robert Eliot, Esq., of Albany, but she died within the year. Eight years later he was married to Susan McKown Eliot, a younger sister of his first wife, and in the autumn of 1845 he removed to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where he became editor and proprietor of the Milwaukee Sentinel, and took a prominent and active part in building up the infant city, which became the metropolis of Wisconsin. He served in the State Constitutional Convention, was for years member of the Board of Regents of the State University, Superintendent of Public Schools, Milwaukee, and the leading officer of the State militia. It was his paper that led the movement which resulted in the formation of the Republican party in the Northwest. In March, 1861, King was appointed by President Lincoln Minister resident at Rome, Italy, and was about to embark with his family for his new post when Fort Sumter fell. He at once sought service in the field, was appointed Brigadier General of Volunteers in May, 1861, organized and commanded the brigade of Wisconsin and Indiana troops that won, in the Army of the Potomac, the name of the Iron Brigade of the West; was promoted to the command of a division in McDowell's Corps, but after Second Bull Run, was prostrated by illness from which he never fully recovered. In February, 1863, he was commanding the defenses of Yorktown, Virginia, and later commanded a division in the defenses of Washington, but in the fall of that year he resigned his military commission on account of continued ill health, and repaired to Rome, where he remained on duty as Minister of the United States until the abolition of the mission by Congress in 1867. Returning to New York, he spent there the last nine years of his life, surrounded by friends and relatives, succumbing to an attack of pneumonia

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October 13, 1876. He was buried in the old church yard at Jamaica, Long Island, where are interred six generations of the name. General King was survived by his wife, son and daughter.

PHILETUS SAWYER.

Of men who by their own exertions have risen from poverty to affluence and after a youth of obscurity and hardship have run a long and useful public career, Wisconsin furnishes no more conspicuous example than is illustrated by the life and services of Philetus Sawyer. He was born in Rutland county, Vermont, September 22d, 1816. When the boy was only about a year old his father removed with his family from Vermont to Essex county, New York, locating at Crown Point, the place made historic by the exploit of Ethan Allen in 1775. The elder Sawyer was a farmer and blacksmith of very scanty means, and could give his children no educational advantages. Philetus made the most of a three months' term at a crude rural school. When a mere youth young Sawyer worked in summer for six dollars per month. In the Adirondack woods near his home he worked at lumbering, and in the rude saw-mills of the region he got his first ideas of the business from which he afterwards won his great fortune. At the age of seventeen young Sawyer was a strong and vigorous youth, ambitious and self-reliant, and anxious to begin the making of his own way in life. So he bought his time of his father for the remaining four years of his minority, borrowing the money therefor, $100, from an older brother. Before the time had expired he had paid the borrowed money and given himself two more terms of the district school from his savings as a mill hand. His business tact was soon apparent in his operating the mill under contract. Ten years of industry and careful management sufficed to give him a capital of some $2,000, no inconsiderable sum for those times. In 1841, when twenty-five years old, he was married to Melvina M. Hadley, a young lady of the vicinity, who, all through his stirring, remarkable career, was a true helpmeet to him. In 1847, with his family of wife and two sons, he came west, purchased a farm in Fond du Lac county, and settled upon it with the purpose of

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becoming a farmer. But he was not destined for a farmer; two years of short crops changed his course. He saw the promise of the great pine forests on the Wolf river, and his mind was made up for other work. The farm was sold, and Mr. Sawyer, in 1849, took up his residence in Algoma, now in the city of Oshkosh. He plunged at once into the lumbering business, first running a mill on a contract, then purchased it, formed a partnership with Messrs. Brand & Olcott, lumbermen of Fond du Lac, and so on until he was the chief man in the business. His operations in lumber extended over all the northern part of the State, and he probably owned more pine lands than any other man in the country. His business sagacity never failed him, and his energy and enterprise were unexcelled. In 1856 his political career may be said to have begun; in that year he was elected to the Legislature on the Republican ticket, although prior to that he had been nominally a Democrat. In the business of legislation he at once showed the same comprehensive grasp that had characterized his business career. As a legislator he was influential and popular from the start, so much so that his constituents wished to re-elect him; but he declined the service on account of the pressure of his business. In 1860, however, he was again elected, and showed that he was possessed of first-class legislative ability and was a man for the troublous times then approaching. In 1863-4 he was Mayor of Oshkosh, and was instrumental in compromising the railroad indebtedness of the city on very favorable terms; and in other ways rendered the public great service. Meantime he had been repeatedly talked of for representative in Congress, but he refused the position until 1864, when he accepted the Republican nomination, was elected and took his seat December, 1865; and was four times re-elected. During this long service in one of the most exciting times in the history of the country he was one of the wisest and most influential representatives in Congress. James G. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," speaks of him in the highest terms, and so did every one who knew of his labors and their value. At the end of his fifth term Mr. Sawyer voluntarily retired from the position which he had so long honored by close and self-sacrificing labors. In 1880 he had designed going to

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Europe with his family, but it became evident that he was wanted in the United States Senate, and he gave up the trip, and was elected with comparatively little opposition, and re-elected in 1887 with no opposition whatever. In the Senate he soon assumed the same influential position that he held in the House. Not a speaker in any sense, he came to be known as one of the best-posted men in that body on legislation, and one whose influence was unquestioned. When he made a positive statement as to the character of a bill and its effects if passed, it was conclusive both for the men of his own party and for his political opponents. After forty-seven years of devoted companionship, Mr. Sawyer lost his wife in 1888. His surviving children are Edgar P. Sawyer of Oshkosh and Mrs. W. O. Goodman of Chicago. On the 22d of September, 1896, hundreds of Republicans gathered at Oshkosh to pay their personal compliments to Senator Sawyer on the occasion of his turning eighty years of age. It was the most notable voluntary personal tribute in the history of the State, and the more significantly disinterested because it was paid to a man retired from active politics.

ALEXANDER MITCHELL.

Wisconsin's greatest financier and railway organizer exerted during many years a strong conservative influence in the politics of the State, and during two terms represented the Milwaukee district in the lower house of Congress. Alexander Mitchell was born October 18, 1817, in the parish of Ellon, Aberdeenshire, Scotland. His grandfather was an Englishman. His father, John Mitchell, was an industrious and substantial farmer. His mother, whose maiden name was Lendrum, was of pure Scottish descent. She died when he was only a few years old. The boy grew up on his father's farm, under the care of his eldest sister. He was educated in the parish schools and was for two years an inmate of a law office in Aberdeen, where he went through a wide range of reading. Later he was a clerk in a banking house at Peterhead. In May, 1839, Mr. Mitchell, then between twenty-one and twenty-two years of age, came to Milwaukee, where he was shortly afterward entrusted with the full care and management of the banking

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business which was established by George Smith under the name of The Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company. Subsequently Mr. Mitchell became by purchase the head of the institution in his own right. He welded together a number of bankrupt railway corporations into the vast and prosperous system now known as the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul. But the purpose of the present sketch is to consider the political phases of Mr. Mitchell's many-sided career. As a practical banker, his sympathies in the early days were with the Whig party, which was then the bank party. He was afterwards a Republican, and entered with considerable ardor into the Wide-Awake movement, which materially contributed to the election of Lincoln to the Presidency. With many of his distinguished personal friends and associates, he carried a kerosene torch in the Republican processions of 1860. He was a firm supporter of the war policies of the government during Lincoln's administration, and until after the war closed. Then he supported the measures adopted by Andrew Johnson for the rehabilitation of the States which had been at war against the Union, and in the reorganization of parties which followed he became a Democrat. He supported Horatio Seymour for the Presidency in 1868, and was himself the Democratic candidate for Congress in that year in the First Wisconsin district, composed of the counties of Milwaukee, Racine, Kenosha, Walworth and Waukesha. The adverse fortunes of Democratic politics in that election involved him in defeat; but in 1870 he was again the Democratic candidate for Congress in the same district, and was elected by a large majority. In 1872 he was re-elected, but he declined to be a candidate for still another term in 1874. In 1876 he was chosen by the Democratic State Convention one of the delegates-at-large from Wisconsin to the Democratic National Convention, in which he supported the nomination of Samuel J. Tilden. He took an active part in the ensuing compaign, and at its unsuccessful close retired permanently from active party politics. In 1879 he was nominated by the Democratic State Convention for the office of Governor, but he peremptorily declined to be a candidate. During the time while he was a member of Congress, Mr. Mitchell was prominent and zealous in the support of such financial measures as were

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adopted for the protection of the public credit, and for the restoration of specie payments. He made a clear and able speech on this subject on the 27th of March, 1874, presenting the arguments against inflation by the issue of more greenbacks, pointing out the evils inseparable from a deranged monetary system, and declaring against any basis except that of specie for the currency circulation of the country. Mr. Mitchell was married in 1841 to Martha Reed, a daughter of Seth Reed, who was a pioneer of Milwaukee. He had one son, John L. Mitchell, who after his father's death, became a Senator of the United States. The death of Alexander Mitchell occurred April 19, 1887.

HENRY L. PALMER.

Henry L. Palmer, distinguished as the head of the Masonic Order in the United States, and also as a lawyer and president of a great corporation, and for many years a conspicuous and influential figure in the politics of Wisconsin, was born at Mount Pleasant, Wayne County, Pennsylvania, October 18, 1819. He received a common school education, studied law and was admitted to the bar. In 1836, at the age of seventeen, he went to West Troy, New York, to reside, and from that place came to Wisconsin in 1849, where he has made his home ever since. He entered upon the practice of the law, which he continued with marked success until he became president of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company. Previous to that time Mr. Palmer took an active part in politics, being the acknowledged head of the Democratic party in the State, and was its candidate for Governor at the election of 1863. He was a member of the Assembly in 1853, 1860, 1862 and 1873; and of the Senate in 1867 and 1868; was Speaker of the Assembly in 1853, and at the extra session in 1862. In 1873 he was elected County Judge, but resigned early in February, 1874, to accept the office of president of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company. Relinquishing his very extensive law practice, and eschewing active participation in party politics, he has since devoted his attention wholly to the interests of the mammoth corporation which he has been largely instrumental in making one of the first, as it is one of the soundest, life insurance companies in this or any other country.

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JAMES T. LEWIS.

James T. Lewis was born in Clarendon, New York, October 30, 1819. His father was Shubael Lewis, a respected member of a family which was among the early settlers of New England. After receiving a liberal education James T. Lewis, in 1842, began the study of law with Gov. Selden, of Clarkson, New York. Subsequently he removed to Columbus, Wisconsin, which has since been his home. In 1845 he was admitted to the bar. The same year he was married to Miss Orlena M. Sturgis, daughter of a prominent merchant of Clarendon, New York. Mr. Lewis was soon recognized as a fit man for public station, and was successively chosen district attorney, county judge and member of the Second Constitutional Convention. In 1852 he was elected to the Assembly, and in the following year was a member of the State Senate, as such taking part in the historic Hubbell impeachment trial. For two years from January, 1854, he was Lieutenant Governor; in 1862-3 he was Secretary of State, and for the two years beginning with January, 1864, he was Governor. It was the time of the Civil War. The principle which governed his administration is embodied in a declaration which he made at the time: "He who is not a faithful friend to the government of his country in this trying hour is no friend of mine." Governor Lewis was indefatigable in forwarding troops to the front, and in contributing to their welfare after they got there. He visited the Wisconsin soldiers in their camps and at the hospitals, and finally secured from the surgeon-general an order transferring Wisconsin soldiers to hospitals within the State. This hastened the recovery of many a languishing sufferer and saved the lives of not a few who would otherwise have died. He was active in establishing a home for soldiers' orphans. He secured the correction of an error by which the quota of soldiers necessary to be furnished by Wisconsin was reduced 4,000. He successfully prosecuted claims against the general government by which half a million of dollars was restored to the State. He declined the usual appropriation for a governor's contingent fund, and in many other ways economized the expenditure of public money. When his term drew to a close he declined to accept a renomination. The convention,

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finding his decision unalterable, adopted a resolution expressing its regret and declaring its deep sense of the great efficiency and excellence of his administration. Ex-Gov. Lewis has always enjoyed in a high degree the confidence of his fellow citizens irrespective of party. When he was a candidate for Secretary of State he received every vote cast in the city of Columbus. His majority when he ran for the Governorship—23,664—was the largest which up to that time had ever been accorded to any candidate for any office in this State, and was never equaled until 1890. His interest in the cause of education has manifested itself in many ways, and Lawrence University, in recognition of this, as well as of his personal culture, some years ago bestowed upon him the degree of LL.D.

MATT. H. CARPENTER.

Matthew Hale Carpenter was born at Moretown, Vermont, December 22, 1824. His mother died when he was eleven years of age, and he became the protége of Hon. Paul Dillingham, under whose tutelage he began the study of law. In 1843 he was appointed a cadet at West Point, where he remained for two years, when ill-health compelled his return to his home. He subsequently resumed his law studies in the office of Gov. Dillingham, and was admitted to the bar in the spring of 1847, at Montpelier, Vermont. Then he went to Boston, where he became the amanuensis of Rufus Choate, and where he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts in 1848. In the same year he came to Wisconsin and opened a law office at Beloit. Within a month after his arrival, however, he became afflicted with an inflammation of the eyes which rendered him totally blind during a great part of three years. He went East for treatment, returning in 1851 to Beloit, where he soon acquired a valuable practice. In November, 1851, he was elected District Attorney for Rock county, but owing to errors in his Christian name on some of the ballots and informality in the returns from one of the towns, the certificate of election was given to his opponent. A writ of quo warranto was issued by the Attorney General, upon the rela-

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MAJOR H. CARPENTER

[illegible] Major Carpenter was born at Marlow [illegible] December [illegible] 1824. His mother died when he was [illegible] years old, and he was [illegible] with his father, who [illegible] Hon. [illegible] Congressman [illegible] Wisconsin. In 1843 he was appointed a cadet at West Point, where he remained for two years, when [illegible] his home. He subsequently resumed his law studies in the office of Hon. [illegible], and was admitted to the bar in the spring of 1847, at Montpelier, Vermont. Then he went to Boston, where he became the attaché of Ruffin's Chase, and where he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts in 1848. In the same year he came to Wisconsin and opened a law office at Beloit. Within a month after his arrival, however, he became afflicted with an inflammation of the eyes which rendered him totally blind for a great part of three years. He went East for treatment, returning in 1851 to Beloit, where he soon acquired a valuable [illegible] In November 1851, he was elected District Attorney for [illegible] Beloit, owing to errors in his Christian name on some [illegible] and informality in the returns from one of the towns, [illegible] of election was given to his opponent. A writ of [illegible] was issued by the Attorney General, upon the rela-

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tion of Mr. Carpenter, resulting in the decision by the Supreme Court that Carpenter was entitled to the office. His practice and reputation rapidly increased, and in 1858, seeking a larger field for his ability, he removed to Milwaukee, where he resided during the remainder of his life. Except the office of District Attorney, Mr. Carpenter never held any office other than United States Senator. The historical portion of this work contains an extended reference to his brilliant public career. He died at Washington February 24, 1881, and his remains were brought to Milwaukee for interment. The public funeral ceremonies were among the most impressive ever witnessed in Wisconsin—a tribute to the esteem in which his genius was held by the people of the State. On the Fourth of July, 1894, his marble bust, purchased by public subscriptions, was, with appropriate ceremonies, presented to the State Historical Society, at Madison.

COL. LUCAS M. MILLER.

Col. Lucas M. Miller, of Oshkosh, who represented the Sixth Wisconsin District in the Fifty-second Congress of the United States, was born in Laviadia, Greece, 1824. He is the son of a Greek chieftain, who was killed by the Turks during the Greek revolution. Soon after his birth his mother died, and he was cared for a short time by a woman who found him in an abandoned town shortly after a battle had taken place within its streets. Subsequently she applied to Colonel J. P. Miller for assistance. The colonel was an American, who joined the Greek army at the beginning of the revolution; was commissioned as Colonel and distinguished himself as a brave and efficient officer, and rendered very material service to the Greeks by securing the donation of several vessels laden with provisions and clothing by the citizens of his country for the benefit of the destitute people of Greece; the Colonel, learning the history of the orphan boy, concluded to adopt him, and when he returned to this country settled in Montpelier, Vermont. Lucas attended the schools of the town until he was sixteen, when his father was injured to an extent incapacitating him for his business, which was assumed by his adopted son. At

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the age of twenty-one the young man took out naturalization papers, was admitted to the bar, and soon after moved to the Territory of Wisconsin and settled in Oshkosh in 1846. Here he purchased several hundred acres of land and engaged in farming. He still occupies a portion of the land. Soon after settling in Wisconsin, during the Mexican war, he was appointed Colonel by Governor Dodge; in 1853 he was a member of the Wisconsin Legislature; was one of the Commissioners of the State Board of Public Works; for many years he was Chairman of the County Board of Supervisors of Winnebago County. At various times he has been urged to run for various State offices. At the time he was nominated for Congress he was in Vermont and did not hear of it until the next day after the convention had adjourned; had he been at home he would not have accepted the nomination. He remained in Vermont until two weeks before his election; on his return home he informed the people of the District that he had been nominated contrary to his wishes; if elected he proposed to attend to their interests, and if not elected he proposed to attend to his own business. He was elected to the Fifty-second Congress as a Democrat, receiving 15,573 votes, against 13,409 votes for Chas. B. Clark, Republican, and 1,156 votes for George W. Gates, Prohibitionist. While in Congress Col. Miller took an active part in the debates upon various important subjects. His speeches against taking the tariff off wool, on the silver question, on Indian affairs, and on the free delivery of the mail in the country, attracted considerable attention. The first mentioned speech was regarded with much favor in the wool-growing States, and was extensively circulated in the country. A speech in favor of increasing the navy, delivered by him at the solicitation of Mr. Herbert, Chairman of the Committee of Naval Affairs, afterwards Secretary of the Navy, secured to him a very complimentary letter from Admiral Dewey, who at that time was stationed at Washington. Col. Miller took an active part in securing the county seat in Oshkosh, donating the land upon which the court house now stands. He rendered material aid in securing the State Land Office, the State Insane Asylum, and the Normal School, all of which institutions have been of much benefit to Oshkosh, and has been instru-

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mental in securing various railroads and manufacturing establishments, which have materially contributed to the prosperity of that city.

WILLIAM E. SMITH.

William E. Smith was of Scotch descent. His father, Alexander Smith, was a man of education and culture, and was manager of a large landed estate in Scotland until 1835, when he migrated to the United States. William E.—born June 18, 1824—was then eleven years old. At the age of ten he had won a prize for proficiency in classics in the schools of Edinburgh. The first winter which the Smiths spent in America was passed in New York, and in the following spring the family moved to Oakland county, Michigan, and began the struggle of making a home on a quarter-section of new land. Living in a log cabin and clearing land did not break the fiber of his fine nature, but his courage met hardships bravely, and surmounted all difficulties. Improving his opportunities for attending school, and reading all the books he could get, the young farmer developed intellectual as well as physical vigor. In 1841 he obtained a position as a cerk in a small store, where he remained about five years. In 1846 he was offered and accepted a place in a New York dry goods house, where, by his diligence, he attracted the attention of a large jobbing house, and procured for himself an important position. Here his integrity and business ability received substantial recognition by an offer of a partnership with the son of his employer in the town of Fox Lake, Wisconsin, whither he went in 1849. Mr. Smith's power of impressing people is illustrated by the fact that almost before he became a citizen of Wisconsin he was elected to the Legislature, and, during the session of 1851, was one of the most practical and influential members of the Assembly. Declining a renomination, he devoted his attention to business with diligence, until 1858, when he was elected State Senator, an office to which he was reëlected in 1862. While in the Senate he was a member of the Committee on Education. In 1865 he was elected State Treasurer, being reëlectec in 1867. Returning to Fox Lake at the end of his term, he was

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again elected to the Assembly in 1870, and was chosen Speaker. In 1872 Mr. Smith removed to Milwaukee, to engage in the wholesale grocery business with Messrs. J.A. Roundy and Sidney Hauxhurst, and continued as head of the firm until elected Governor in 1877, to which office he was reélected in 1879. It has been aptly said of him as the chief executive of the State, that "he was practical, faithful and safe." Applying strict principles to his duties, he kept everything in order and neglected nothing. After the expiration of his second term as Governor he formed a partnership with his son, Ira B. Smith, and H. M. Mendel, under the firm name of Smith, Mendel & Co. Besides the offices mentioned Mr. Smith held many other positions of public trust. For fifteen years he was Regent of the State Normal schools, and for four years a Director of the State Prison. For twenty-six years he was a trustee of Milwaukee Female College, and for many years a trustee of Milwaukee College, Wayland University and the University of Chicago. He was also for many years a trustee and a member of the executive committee of the Northwestern Life Insurance Company. His life was controlled by well-established principles. In public as well as in private he was always the same courteous, thorough-going, conscientious business man. In early life Mr. Smith was an ardent Whig. Upon the organization of the Republican party he became a Republican. He was an influential member of the party until his death, which occurred February 13, 1883.

GEORGE H. PAUL.

George H. Paul is remembered as one of the most trenchant writers and most influential editors who ever devoted their energies to the support of the Democratic party in Wisconsin. Independently of his services as a journalist, his name stands high in the roll of the prominent men of the State. Mr. Paul was born at Danville, Vermont, March 14, 1826. At eleven years of age he began in the office of The North Star a connection with the printing business which he continued during the greater portion of his life. In 1840 he entered Phillips Academy, where he spent three

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GEORGE H. PAUL

George H. Paul is remembered as one [illegible] waters and [illegible] to the support of the Democratic party [illegible] dently of his services as a journalist, [illegible] [illegible] of the prominent men of the State. [illegible] [illegible] Vermont, March 14, 1820. [illegible] [illegible] of The North Star [illegible] which he continued during the great portion [illegible] he entered Phillips Academy, where he spent [illegible]

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E. D. Cope

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years preparing for college. He received the degree of A. M. from the University of Vermont, and spent a year in the study of law at Harvard, being admitted to the bar in 1848. During all the time while he was securing his education, he supported himself by teaching and working at the printing business. In 1848 he became editor and proprietor of The Burlington (Vermont) Sentinel, and transformed that paper into a daily—the first daily newspaper regularly published in Vermont. In the same year President Polk appointed him postmaster at Burlington. In 1851 he sold The Sentinel and removed to Kenosha, Wisconsin, where he began the publication of The Kenosha Democrat. In 1853 President Pierce appointed him postmaster at Kenosha. He was reappointed to this office by President Buchanan, and held it till the expiration of his commission in 1861. He was Mayor of Kenosha, and held other offices of trust and honor. In the spring of the latter year he went to New York, where he did editorial work for several months. Returning to Wisconsin, he became interested with J. M. Lyon in the proprietorship of The Daily News, and was the leading spirit in the management of that paper until May, 1874. In 1867 he was a member of the Milwaukee Charter Commission, and in 1870 a member of the Board of School Commissioners. He resigned from the board to accept the position of superintendent of the public schools, which he held until May, 1871. In February, 1874, he was appointed a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin, a position which he held until his death in 1890, and during most of the time he was president of the board. He was a member of the Wisconsin Board of Railway Commissioners during the administration of Governor Taylor, from 1874 to 1876, and served two terms in the State Senate, from 1877 to 1881, representing what was at that time the Sixth Senatorial district, comprising the portion of Milwaukee city and county lying south of the Menomonee river. While a member of the Senate Mr. Paul was the author of numerous measures of importance, among them being the bills for creating the Milwaukee County Insane Asylum and the State Industrial School for Girls; also the bills creating the office of Health Commissioner in the city of Milwaukee, and protecting the public

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health by a system of intercepting sewers for the protection of the rivers of the city. He was one of the trustees of the Milwaukee County Insane Asylum for a number of years. In 1885 President Cleveland appointed Mr. Paul postmaster at Milwaukee, and he served in that capacity till the appointment of his successor by President Harrison in 1889. Mr. Paul was a delegate to four national Democratic conventions. He was a member for Wisconsin of the National Democratic Committtee from 1864 to 1868 and from 1872 to 1876. In 1872-3 he was chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee of Wisconsin, and planned and conducted the campaign which brought the Democrats into power in the State after an exile of fifteen years. Mr. Paul was one of the organizers of the Milwaukee Cement Company, and for many years held the secretaryship of that corporation.

Z. G. SIMMONS.

Zalmon Gilbert Simmons was born in Montgomery county, New York, September 10, 1828. His early years were passed upon a farm. In his fifteenth year he came with his father to Wisconsin, landing at Southport, now Kenosha, on the 12th of June, 1843. He attended school in Kenosha for three years, and then became a teacher, which occupation he followed until he was 21. Then he entered the store of Seth Doan as a clerk, with the agreement that he was to receive $200 for his first year's service. Within six months' time Mr. Simmons had acquired the confidence of his employer to such an extent that he was placed in charge of the business, and at the end of sixteen months he had bought out the stock, mostly on credit, and become the proprietor of what he developed into a large and prosperous business, in which he continued for twelve years, meantime having an eye for other enterprises which soon absorbed all his time. In 1856 he acquired a half interest in the Wisconsin State Telegraph Company, of which he became president and manager. The company at that time had little promise of the magnitude into which it has since developed, and it is said that the sum paid by Mr. Simmons for his interest, $500, was all it was worth. Under his vigorous manage-

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ment, however, the lines were extended and the facilities for business enlarged as fast as money for that purpose could be obtained. In short, the work was pushed with a sagacity and vigor that never faltered until, in 1881, the lines were leased for ninety-nine years to the Western Union Telegraph Company. At the time of the lease the business had paid the cost of construction, the interest on the capital invested, and $1,000,000 beside. Mr. Simmons became a director in the Western Union Company and retained the position for several years. His enterprise in connection with the Kenosha, Rockford & Rock Island railroad is also worthy of note. The company which had been constructing this road had become hopelessly involved, before it was completed, and appealed to him for aid. He was made president, and by endorsing the paper of the company he succeeded in having the road completed. But there was no money to equip it, and the stockholders, refusing to submit to an assessment for that purpose, turned the road over to Mr. Simmons to conduct as he pleased. He shouldered the burden, and managed to run the first train to Harvard, Illinois, on the day of the battle of Bull Run. In time all the difficulties of the enterprise were surmounted. The road is now a branch of the Chicago & Northwestern. In 1865 Mr. Simmons purchased a half interest in the First National Bank of Kenosha, and became its president, which position he has held up to the present time. During all these years the bank has promptly met all its obligations, and has proved a source of great convenience to the many manufacturing establishments of the city. His enterprises, however, have not been confined to Kenosha or to the State. He conceived the idea of constructing a railroad from Manitou Springs to the summit of Pike's Peak in Colorado, and it was completed in June, 1891, the terminus of the road being 14,143 feet above the sea level, the highest point ever reached by rail. The road is a marvel of engineering skill. Mr. Simmons cast his first vote for John P. Hale, and has been a Republican since the organization of the party. He represented his county in the Legislature in 1865, and was Mayor of Kenosha for three terms. During his incumbency of the latter office he succeeded in refunding the enormous debt of the city, $1,750,000, in twenty-year bonds for $200,000,

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thus relieving Kenosha of an incubus under which its industrial interests had been well nigh ruined. Under his administration the streets were paved, and a start was made in the work of improving the harbor. On the 20th of April, 1850, Mr. Simmons was married to Miss Emma E., daughter of Captain Morris Robinson, a prominent pioneer of Lake county, Illinois. They have had six children, three of whom are living—Mrs. Arthur F. Town of Chicago, Mrs. A. H. Lance of Kenosha, and Zalmon G. Simmons, Jr., of Kenosha. In religion, Mr. Simmons is a Unitarian. He has been liberal with his vast wealth, contributing freely to charities and public objects. He has always taken a great interest in the old soldiers, and he has recently completed a $25,000 monument to the memory of the heroes of the Civil War. At the present time he is constructing a magnificent library building which will be filled with books and presented to the city. This last beneficence will require the expenditure of over $200,000.

JUDGE BYRON PAINE.

The circumstances under which Byron Paine, at the early age of 31, was, in 1859, elected Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin for the full term of six years, to succeed Judge A. D. Smith, are related in the historical part of this book. His bright career, too early closed, forms one of the most picturesque pages in the history of the Wisconsin bar. Judge Paine was born at Painesville, Lake county, Ohio, October 10, 1827. He received a thorough academic education. Later he became a fine German scholar, reading, writing and speaking the language with almost the fluency of a native. In the autumn of 1847 he removed to Milwaukee with his father, General James H. Paine, who was a lawyer of distinction, and under whose guidance he studied for the bar, to which he was admitted in 1849. In the years while he was waiting for practice, he so thoroughly improved his time that he obtained a profound knowledge of legal principles and the decisions in which they are exemplified. In 1856 he was chief clerk of the Senate, and in 1857 he was elected County Judge of Milwaukee, an office which he held until he took his seat on the

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bench of the Supreme Court in 1859. On the 10th of August, 1864, he resigned his seat on the bench to accept the appointment of Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forty-third regiment of Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry. He was engaged in military service till May, 1865, when he resumed the practice of law at Milwaukee. In September, 1867, Associate Justice Jason Downer, who had succeeded Judge Paine, resigned his office, and on the 11th of that month Judge Paine, appointed by Gov. Fairchild to fill the vacancy, resumed the performance of judicial duties. In 1868 he was elected for the remainder of Judge Downer's term, which expired June 1, 1871. But his life of brilliant promise was cut short while he was at the height of his powers. After meeting his associates in the consultation room on the 23d of November, 1870, he was confined to his home by an attack of erysipelas, from which he died on the 13th of January, 1871. Judge Paine was a man nearly six feet in height, of vigorous constitution, and, up to the time of his seizure, the picture of physical health. His death was a shock to the community.

JOHN B. CASSODAY.

John B. Cassoday, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, was born in Herkimer county, New York, July 7th, 1830. Three years later his father died, and his mother, taking her child, removed with her parents to Tioga county, Pennsylvania. There the boy began attending the district school, working for his board, as his mother was without means. Before he had attained his seventeenth year he had, in addition to his attendance upon the district school, been one term at the Tioga academy and one at the academy in Wellsborough. During the next four years he was engaged in teaching and in manual labor, and in this way secured the means for the payment of his expenses during a course of study of two terms at the academy in Knoxville, Pa., and two at the Alfred (N. Y.) Academy, from which he graduated. He then spent a year in the University of Michigan, taking a select course. This was followed by a short time at the Albany law school, after which he studied law in an office in Wellsborough,

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Pa. In 1857 he came to Janesville, Wis., where he entered the law office of H. S. Conger, afterwards judge of that circuit, and studied law for a year or more, when he became a member of the law firm of Bennett, Cassoday & Gibbs. This partnership continued seven years, during which Mr. Cassoday rapidly rose in his profession, until he came to be recognized as one of the ablest members of the Rock county bar. For two years from 1866 he was in practice alone, then in company with Willard Merrill, now of the Northwestern Life Insurance Company, for five years, and after that with Edward F. Carpenter, a half-brother of the late Senator Carpenter, until he was appointed to the supreme bench in November, 1880. Since the organization of the Republican party, it has had no more consistent, earnest and zealous adherent than Mr. Cassoday. He was a delegate to the Baltimore convention in 1864 that nominated Lincoln for reëlection, and was a member of the Committee on Credentials. The same year he was elected to the Legislative Assembly, serving on the judiciary and railroad committees. The thirteenth amendment to the national constitution was presented for ratification at that session, and he took an active part in the debate on its passage. In 1876 he was again elected to the Assembly, was chosen its Speaker, and his ability and tact in that position resulted in one of the shortest and most effective sessions in the history of the State. He was a delegate-at-large to the Republican national convention in Chicago in 1880, and was chairman of the delegation. He presented to the convention the name of E. B. Washburn as a candidate for the nomination for President, in a dignified, eloquent and powerful speech; but it was seen on the second day that none of the leading candidates would be nominated, and the Wisconsin delegation, which contained some of the ablest Republicans in the State, decided that at the proper moment the vote of the State should be cast for James A. Garfield, and it was left for Mr. Cassoday to determine when that time had come. On the thirty-fourth ballot he declared to his fellow-delegates that the time had come for breaking the deadlock, and announced the vote of Wisconsin for Garfield, amid intense excitement. The second ballot thereafter Garfield received the nomination. From the time of his

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coming to the State Justice Cassoday had taken an active part in all important political campaigns, making able and effective speeches, devoted to the discussion of the questions at issue between the parties, but never descending to mere partisan harangues. Yet he was not an office-seeker, though frequently a delegate to State conventions, and in positions where he might have secured nominations had he so chosen. He declined all offices, however, when tendered, though among them were those connected with his profession, such as attorney-general and circuit judge. Chief Justice Ryan of the Supreme Court died in October, 1880, creating a vacancy in that court. Immediately the Rock county bar addressed a petition to Governor Smith asking the appointment of Justice Cassoday to the vacancy, and this petition was followed up by personal letters to the Governor from such prominent persons as Senator Carpenter and Willard Merrill, and by most favorable notices from the public press. Justice Cole, the oldest member on the bench, was appointed Chief Justice, and Mr. Cassoday Associate Justice. In April, 1881, both were elected to the places to which they had been appointed, on calls from the bar and members of the Legislature. In 1889 Justice Cassoday was reëlected without opposition, receiving 210,899 votes. Upon the death of Chief Justice Orton, in July, 1895, Justice Cassoday became chief justice under the law, he being the oldest judge in point of service. He was again reëlected, without opposition, in 1899. In 1881 Beloit college conferred upon him the degree of LL. D., an honor most worthily bestowed. His judicial work has been most faithfully and ably done, and has given entire satisfaction to the bar and to the people generally. Since taking his place on the bench he has shown his regard for the proprieties of the position by refraining entirely from active participation in political affairs. Since 1885 Justice Cassoday has been lecturer to the Senior class in the College of Law of the University of Wisconsin. His lectures on wills have been published, and they form the text-book on that subject in the law school. He still lectures once a week during the college year on constitutional law. He has delivered able addresses on various subjects—one a memorial address on Gen. Grant—which have been published and highly

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commended. Justice Cassoday was married in 1860 to Miss Mary P. Spaulding of Janesville, Wisconsin. They have four daughters and a son. The Justice is a member of the Congregational church.

P. V. DEUSTER.

Peter Victor Deuster was born near Aix-la-Chapelle, Germany, on February 13th, 1831, being the only son of Mathias and Anna C. Deuster. While he was going through an academic course of studies, his parents carried out their long contemplated plan of settling in the United States, and came to Milwaukee in July, 1847. The elder Deuster bought a farm near the city, and the son exchanged his books for implements of agriculture, spending the summer at work on his father's farm. In the following fall he was engaged by Hon. Moritz Schoeffler, publisher of a German newspaper in Milwaukee—"The Wisconsin Banner"—and remained in his employ four years, when he himself ventured upon the enterprise of publishing a German weekly family paper, entitled the "Hausfreund"; but six months later he accepted the position of business manager of the "Daily Seebote." In 1854 he became editor of a newspaper published at Port Washington, Wisconsin, combining with his editorial labors the duties of postmaster, clerk of the circuit court, land office, notary public, besides establishing a night school for young men, and making himself generally useful to the community. In 1856 he had made all preliminary arrangements to establish a newspaper at Green Bay, Wisconsin, but being offered an interest in The Milwaukee "Seebote," he changed his plans and returned there, publishing this newspaper in partnership with August Greulich until 1860, when he became sole proprietor. During the same year, on January 10th, he was united in wedlock to Miss Agathe Gertrude Stoltz, the only daughter of John Stoltz, one of the early settlers of Milwaukee. Of the six children who were the fruits of this union, five are now living—Dr. Oscar V. Deuster, Hugo Deuster, Mrs. Oscar J. Hansen, Baroness P. von Paumgartten, and Miss Alma Deuster. In 1862 Mr. Deuster was elected to the State Assem-

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bly of Wisconsin, and was a member of the State Senate in 1870 and 1871. Besides his Milwaukee newspaper he published The Chicago Daily Union, a German Democratic journal, from 1869 until the destruction of the city by fire in 1871. Subsequently, he spent considerable time in traveling, visiting the different parts of our own country, Canada, Mexico and Europe. In 1878 he was elected to the Forty-sixth Congress, from the Fourth district of Wisconsin, and was reëlected to the Forty-seventh and Forty-eighth, so that he served six years in Congress. Possessed of a great degree of energy, he soon added national fame to his excellent reputation at home by the legislative ability he displayed during his service in Congress. As a German-American publicist he had become familiar with most of the urgent needs of that large, important element of our population to which he belongs, and at once introduced measures in Congress looking to their relief. Among these, his bill creating a harbor of refuge at Milwaukee by building a breakwater in the bay; his bill regulating the system of naturalizing foreign-born residents as citizens, and his bill regulating the carriage of steerage passengers at sea, are of great public interest and national importance. He also urged and succeeded in securing the participation of our government in the international fishery exhibition at Berlin, Germany, in April, 1880. In 1887 President Cleveland appointed him chairman of the commission to diminish the Umatilla Indian reservation in Oregon, and in 1896 he was appointed consul at Crefeld, Germany, which position he held with credit until superseded, owing to the change of administration. The Seebote ran a flourishing and influential career of nearly forty years under Mr. Deuster's ownership and direction. It was recently sold and merged with Der Herold.

JOHN GOODLAND.

Judge John Goodland, of Appleton, was born at Taunton, England, August 10, 1831, his father, William Goodland, being a merchant who had risen from poverty, and his mother, whose maiden name was Abigail Sharman, the daughter of a tenant farmer. After receiving an academic education, and serving a

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three years' apprenticeship to a woolen draper, the subject of this sketch came to America in 1849, settling at Sharon, Walworth county, Wisconsin, in 1854. He taught school, clerked in a store, and in 1860, after a visit to England, engaged in the grocery business. He won some notice as a public speaker, and was elected to several local offices, such as justice of the peace, town clerk and town treasurer. In 1864 his store was burned, and, closing up his business at Sharon, he went to Chicago, where he spent three years in the employ of the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad company. In 1867 he went to Appleton as a local agent of the company, in which position he served seven years, when he resigned to become an insurance agent and take up the study of law. In 1877 he was admitted to the bar. He was elected district attorney of Outagamie county in 1888, and reëlected in 1890. In 1885 he had been a non-partisan candidate for Circuit Judge, but failed of election. In 1891 he was called to be a candidate for the office and was also made the nominee of the Democratic party, being elected over George H. Myers and E. J. Goodrick. Judge Myers, who had been the successful candidate for the judgeship in 1885, died in August, 1891, some four months before the expiration of his term, and Judge Goodland, already elected to succeed him, was appointed by Governor Peck to fill the vacancy. In 1897 Judge Goodland was reëlected without opposition. The Judge was an Abolitionist before the Civil War, and a Republican from the organization of the party until 1868. He joined the Democratic party in 1872. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity. In 1850 he married Caroline M. Clark of Sangerfield, Oneida county, New York, a lady of English parentage, who died in 1893 at the age of 60. They were blessed with nine children, seven of whom—four sons and three daughters—are living.

JOHN WINANS.

In 1862 the overwhelmingly Republican First District of Wisconsin elected a Democratic Congressman. This was partly due to a Republican factional quarrel, but partly to the high character and great personal popularity of the Democratic candidate, "Hon-

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est John Winans." Mr. Winans comes of a noted Eastern family. His father and uncles built the first railroad ever constructed in Russia, and one of his uncles, at least, made an immense fortune in the enterprise. John Winans was born in Vernon, N. J., on September 27, 1831, and was educated for the bar in his native State. He was admitted to practice there, and came to Wisconsin in 1857, settling at Janesville, where he has since resided. He became prominent in politics at once, and soon rose to eminence at the bar. He was twice Mayor of Janesville, and served a number of years as City Attorney. In 1874 he was elected to the Assembly, and he was a member of that body again in 1882, 1887 and 1891. In every Assembly of which he has been a member Mr. Winans was one of the leaders of the Democratic side. In 1882 and 1887 he was the Democratic nominee for Speaker, and in 1887 he was nominated by the Democratic caucus for United States Senator against Philetus Sawyer, the Republican nominee. He was noted for advanced views on all public matters, and was, by common consent, pronounced the ablest debater in the Legislature. It was he who framed the famous Potter law, and he has the honor of having been the first man to introduce the anti-pass law in the Wisconsin Legislature. That was in 1882, and his bill, which was then too far in advance of the time to become a law, prohibited legislators and judges from using passes. As early as 1864 Mr. Winans was nominated for Congress by the Democrats in his district, but was defeated. He was sent in that year as a delegate to the National Democratic Convention. In 1882 he was elected to Congress, overturning a Republican majority of 5,000. He has been mentioned several times as a possible candidate for Governor, and he was a very strong candidate before the convention that nominated George W. Peck for that office in 1890. He was for some years a member of the Democratic State Central Committee, and was always a member of every party council. As a lawyer Mr. Winans belongs to the old school. He is dignified and reserved, but always approachable. For nearly a quarter of a century he has been recognized as the foremost lawyer in his circuit. He has figured in many noted trials. He was attorney for the relator in the Edgerton Bible case, in

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which the reading of the Bible in the schools was forbidden. He appeared for the defense in the Mack and Ashton murder trials, both of which are noted in the annals of the bar of this State. Mr. Winans' wife, who, previous to her marriage to him, was Mrs. Russell, of New York, is almost as well known as her husband. She was appointed by Governor Peck as one of the World's Fair Commissioners for this State, and she is prominent in women's organizations. They have one child, a daughter.

A. J. TURNER.

A. J. Turner was born in the town of Schuyler Falls (then a part of Plattsburgh), Clinton county, New York, September 24, 1832. His minority was passed on his father's farm, and shortly after arriving at his majority he left for the West and entered the printing office of The Grand River Eagle, Michigan, where his first lessons in the typographic art were given him. He came to Portage in 1855 and was employed on The Independent; for a couple of years following he was engaged in Madison, Friendship and Portage, doing local and editorial work, and in 1860 he became one of the editors and proprietors of The Wisconsin State Register, remaining such for seventeen years, when it became necessary to make a change in the proprietorship in consequence of the illness of his partner, Mr. S. S. Brannan, and his own official duties. In 1860 Mr. Turner was elected clerk of the Circuit Court of Columbia county. He was sent to represent his district in the State Legislature in 1862, 1863, 1865, and 1868. In 1876 he was elected Chief Clerk of the State Senate, and was reëlected in 1877 and again in 1878, which office he resigned to accept the position of State Railroad Commissioner, to which he was appointed by Governor Smith, and reappointed in 1880. In 1881 he was elected Mayor of Portage and was twice reëlected by an unanimous vote, when he declined a reëlection. He has served many terms as a County Supervisor and Chairman of the County Board of Supervisors. By appointment of Judge Siebecker he became in 1897 Chairman of the Jury Commission for Columbia county. He was Supervisor of the Census for the Third District

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David S. Rose

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of Wisconsin in 1880, and was reappointed to the same position for the First District of Wisconsin for the Census of 1900. Mr. Turner's activity in the movement which led to the overthrowing of the two unconstitutional reapportionment acts of 1891-2 is referred to in the historical part of this work. He was a delegate to the Republican National conventions in 1868, 1880, 1888, and 1892; and for several years was Vice-President of the Grand National Curling Club of America and of the Northwestern Curling Association.

GEORGE B. BURROWS.

George B. Burrows, long a resident of Madison, and ex-State Senator and ex-Speaker of the Assembly, was born in Springfield, Windsor county, Vermont, October 20, 1832. His ancestors were of that sturdy stock that, first in England, and afterward throughout the Northern States, left their lasting impress upon all the institutions of the country, and thus built them a monument "more enduring than brass." Mr. Burrows' father was the Rev. Baxter Burrows, of the Baptist denomination, a native of Massachusetts, and a pioneer of Vermont in both civil and religious matters, and an ardent Abolitionist who suffered persecutions as such. The maiden name of Mr. Burrows' mother was Lydia Boynton, daughter of Capt. Jewett Boynton, an honored soldier in the Revolution. She was a native of Vermont. Mr. Burrows received a thorough common school education, and, after that, by his own industrious, persevering efforts, he secured the means to pay for an academic course. After finishing his academic studies, he spent several years as a clerk in country stores; and, in 1853, embarked in business in New York city. There he remained until 1858, when he removed to Wisconsin, and engaged in banking in Sauk City. In 1865 he removed to Madison and engaged extensively in the real estate business, his field extending over the entire Northwest. In this business he has achieved marked success. Mr. Burrows has always taken a lively interest in political affairs, and has acted consistently and steadily with the Republican party. In 1876 he was elected a member of the State Senate from the

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Madison district, and so satisfactory was his course in that body that he was retained during seven consecutive sessions. In the last year he was chosen President pro tem. of the Senate. His service was not merely perfunctory, as is that of too many of our lawmakers, but characterized by an intelligent scrutiny of the measures which were presented for the consideration of the Senate, and by careful, conservative action thereon. In 1894 Mr. Burrows was elected to the Assembly, and was nominated by acclamation in the Republican caucus for Speaker, the House promptly ratifying the nomination. At the special session held in the spring of 1896 he was reëlected Speaker without opposition. His service as presiding officer was very generally approved, and had he been elected for another term there is little doubt that he would have again been placed in the Speaker's chair. The journals of the State have spoken in unmeasured terms of approval of his political career and of the ability which he displayed therein, both as a Legislator and a Speaker. Mr. Burrows was married on the 13th of January, 1857, to Alma Thompson, daughter of Hon. D. P. Thompson, of Montpelier, Vt., representative of a distinguished Massachusetts family, whose grandfather fell at the Battle of Lexington. Mr. Thompson was not only a lawyer of fine attainments and wide experience, but also held several high political offices and was a novelist of rare abilities. Among his novels may be mentioned "The Green Mountain Boys," "Locke Amsden," "The Rangers, or the Tory's Daughter," and a number of others, all of which have had a wide circle of readers. There was born to Mr. and Mrs. Burrows, in December, 1865, one son, George Thompson Burrows, who is practicing law in New York city. Mr. Burrows has for many years been a curator of the State Historical Society, and a member of the Board of State Library Building Commissioners, and in many ways has served the public interests, both of the capital city and of the State. For the past two years he has acted as President of the State Forestry Commission. Governor Scofield recently appointed him State manager of the Pan-American Exposition to be held at Buffalo, New York, in 1901.

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JAMES G. JENKINS.

James G. Jenkins, Judge of the United States Circuit Court of the Seventh Judicial Circuit, was born at Saratoga Springs, New York, July 18, 1834. His father, Edgar Jenkins, was a business man of New York city, and, on the maternal side, a grandson of Chancellor Reuben H. Walworth. After receiving a liberal education, the future Judge read law in New York city, and was there admitted to the bar in 1855. In 1857 he came to Milwaukee and entered upon the practice of his profession, in which he was steadily engaged until 1888, when he was appointed Judge of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Wisconsin. In 1893 he was promoted to the position of United States Circuit Judge, which he now holds, succeeding Judge Walter Q. Gresham, who had resigned to enter the Cabinet of President Cleveland. Before ascending the bench, Judge Jenkins was for many years a conspicuous member of the Democratic party. He held the office of City Attorney for four terms, beginning in the period of the Civil War, and, among other important cases which he conducted in that capacity, successfully defended the constitutionality of the law authorizing taxation to pay soldiers' bounties. In 1879 he was the nominee of his party for Governor of Wisconsin, but was not elected. In 1881 he received the Democratic vote in the Legislature for the office of United States Senator. In 1885 he was tendered by President Cleveland the position of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, but declined the appointment. During the long period in which he was engaged in active practice, he was recognized as one of the foremost and ablest members of the Wisconsin bar. As a Judge he has maintained the high traditions of the Federal bench. One of his decisions attracted world-wide attention. The Farmers' Loan & Trust Company vs. the Northern Pacific Railway, et al., was the title of the case. The action was to foreclose a trust mortgage for $140,000,000; and, upon application of the plaintiff, receivers of the trust property were appointed by the court, no objection thereto being offered by the defendants. The action was commenced in 1893 at a time of great financial depression, the business of the railroads being reduced by one-half; and the

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receivers reported to the court that they found it necessary to reduce the salaries of the officers and employees of the company from ten to twenty per cent. This reduction was to take effect January 1st, 1894. Naturally the employees were opposed to any such reduction of their wages, and threatened to strike if it were insisted upon. The receivers, hearing of the threats, applied to the court for an injunctional order forbidding them "from combining and conspiring to quit the service of the said receivers or doing anything to cripple the property or prevent or hinder the operation of said railroad." The order did not forbid the employees from quietly, as individuals, or in a body, quitting the service of the receivers, but from doing it as a body in such manner as to injure the operation of the property. The order was issued December 19th, 1893, and three days thereafter a supplemental injunctional order was issued embodying the provisions of the first writ, with an additional clause forbidding the employees "from combining or conspiring together or with others, either jointly or severally, or as committees, or as officers of any so-called labor organization, with the design of causing a strike upon the lines of railroad operated by said receivers." In short, it was an order forbidding the men to commit a crime against property which was in possession of the court or its agents. A motion to dissolve the injunctional orders was denied by the court in an exhaustive opinion (reported 60 Fed. Rep. 803) which will stand as a monument to the learning, judicial ability and fearlessness of Judge Jenkins. He defined a strike to be "a combined effort among workmen to compel the master to the concession of a certain demand by preventing the conduct of his business until compliance with the demand." On appeal from this order to the Circuit Court of Appeals, the order was sustained in its main features, the following clause only being eliminated: "And from so quitting the services of the said receivers, with or without notice, so as to cripple the property or to prevent or hinder the operation of said railroad." The Appellate Court, however, directed that the injunction be modified by describing therein the strike as defined by Judge Jenkins in his opinion. The essential part of the order sustained was as follows: "And from combin-

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ing and conspiring to quit, with or without notice, the service of said receivers, with the object and intent of crippling the property in their custody, or embarrassing the operations of said railroad." In all essentials the ruling of Judge Jenkins was sustained. The leaders of the organization, however, were not content with the decision of the Judge or with the opinion of the Court of Appeals, and took steps looking to his impeachment by Congress, but nothing came of it. In 1870 Judge Jenkins married the only daughter of Judge Andrew G. Miller, who was the first Judge of the United States District Court of Wisconsin. The University of Wisconsin in 1893, and Wabash College of Indiana in 1897, conferred upon Judge Jenkins the degree of LL. D.

JESSE STONE.

Jesse Stone, Lieutenant-Governor of Wisconsin, is a native of Lincoln, England, where he was born August 23, 1836. His father was a Methodist minister, who came to the United States bringing his family with him when Jesse was five years of age. After residing in the East till 1869, the subject of this sketch came to Wisconsin, settling at Watertown, which has since been his home. He engaged in a manufacturing business, in the firm of Woodward & Stone, the partners, after securing a competence, turning their interests over to their sons. Mr. Stone is a stockholder in the Wisconsin Telephone Company and other successful corporations, and has done much for the material development of the State. For many years he has been active in politics on the Republican side, his sound judgment and general ability making him a useful member of the party. For six years, from 1888 to 1894, he was a member of the Republican State Central Committee. He was a delegate to the Republican National conventions of 1888 and 1892. In 1880, 1882 and 1896 he was elected to the Assembly, and in the Assembly of 1897 was one of the most conspicuous leaders of the Republican majority in that body. In 1898 he was, by almost common consent, the nominee of the Republican State Convention for Lieutenant-Governor, and received as a candidate for that

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office 180,038 votes, against 126,306 cast for his Democratic competitor, P. V. Deuster. As presiding officer of the Senate, he was courteous and impartial, winning the respect of every member, irrespective of party. During a period of several weeks while Governor Scofield was absent from the State, Mr. Stone was acting Governor, performing every function of the executive office in a manner that commanded general approval.

JAMES J. DICK.

James Jefferson Dick, Judge of the Thirteenth Judicial Circuit, was born in Westfield, Chautauqua county, New York, September 8, 1836. His ancestry on his father's side was Scotch; on his mother's, Pennsylvania Dutch. He was educated in the common schools and the academy of his native town. In 1856 he came with his parents to Westfield, Marquette county, Wisconsin, and was successfully engaged in teaching for four years from 1856, spending his leisure time in reading law, gaining such a knowledge thereof that he was able to complete the course in the Law School of Albany within one year, graduating in June, 1861. In August following he settled at Beaver Dam, where he has ever since resided, actively engaged in the practice of his profession. As a lawyer he was faithful to his clients, skillful in the management of cases, and his practice extended to almost every branch of the profession. For three years from January, 1861, he was the law partner of H. W. Lander, and after that practiced alone. In 1896 he was elected Judge of the Thirteenth Judicial Circuit, the duties of which honorable and responsible office he has ably and faithfully discharged. Politically, Judge Dick is a Democrat, but he has not aspired to or held any political office. The office of judge is the only official position which he has ever held, except that he has been twenty-two years superintendent of schools of the city of Beaver Dam. Judge Dick is a member of the Masonic order, and of the Odd Fellows, and an attendant at the Episcopal church. August 5th, 1862, he was married to Helen M. Drown of Beaver Dam. They have no children.

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W. D. HOARD.

William Dempster Hoard, sixteenth Governor of Wisconsin, was born in Stockbridge, Madison county, N. Y., October 10th, 1836, the son of Rev. William B. Hoard, a Methodist clergyman, for several years in active connection with the Oneida conference in Central New York. In 1842 the father retired from the ministry and settled upon a farm at Stockbridge, New York, where he resided till his death in 1883. He became known as one of the most skillful dairymen in that region. The mother of Governor Hoard, whose maiden name was White, was a granddaughter of Captain Jesse Sawyer, of Vermont, who commanded a company in Colonel Ethan Allen's regiment in the Revolutionary War. Her father, Benjamin White, was a soldier in the War of 1812. Her brother, Rev. W. W. White, was a noted pulpit orator in the Oneida Conference. Governor Hoard's early education was obtained in the district school, which he left at sixteen, to work on the farm. He was as a youth a great reader of standard books of history, biography and general literature. In October, 1857, he came to Wisconsin, stopping a few months with a cousin in Dodge county. The following winter he taught a singing school, and continued that occupation winters, working as a farm hand summers. In May, 1861, he enlisted in Company E, Fourth regiment, in which he served as private during the summer of 1861, the regiment being engaged in the East Shore expedition in Virginia, guarding the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, and also in the expedition against New Orleans, which resulted in its capture under Gen. Butler. In July, 1862, he was discharged at New Orleans because of disability, and returned to his native town in New York; where, recovering his health, he again enlisted, this time in Company A, First New York light artillery. This battery saw service in the Army of the Potomac and in the Department of the Shenandoah, under Gen. Sheridan, and was mustered out of service July 4th, 1865. In the following autumn he returned to Wisconsin, took up his residence in Columbus, engaging in the nursery business and hop culture. March 17th, 1870, he commenced the publication of The Jefferson County Union, at Lake Mills, and three years later removed the paper to Fort

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Atkinson, which has since been his home, and where the paper is still published. In the same year he also received the appointment of Deputy United States Marshal and took the Federal census of several neighboring towns. In 1872 he was elected Justice of the Peace, and the same year Sergeant-at-Arms of the State Senate. Mr. Hoard's wider career dates from about 1871, when he began to devote especial attention in his paper to dairying. He had studied the subject carefully, and believed that there was a great future for it. He had a practical knowledge of dairying in all its branches, and was thoroughly prepared to be a leader in the business. He organized the Jefferson County Dairymen's Association, and also the Wisconsin State Dairymen's Association, in 1872, of which he was three years the secretary; and was chosen president of the Northwestern Dairymen's Association in 1878, and continued at the head of that organization for several years. The influence of these associations, of which Mr. Hoard has throughout been the practical leader, has been remarkable. Before their formation, the total value of the annual milk product of the State was only about $1,000,000, and that of an inferior quality. Within a few years thereafter the quantity and quality had vastly increased, until in 1895 the value had reached the enormous sum of $30,000,000, or about double what it was a few years before, while in the quality of the product Wisconsin was on a par with the foremost States in the Union. At first Mr. Hoard's advocacy of the dairy interest was carried on in The Jefferson County Union as an incidental of newspaper work, then a separate department was demanded by the growth and importance of the industry; but at length it demanded a separate paper, and "Hoard's Dairyman" was launched, which was a success from the start, and has now grown into a twenty-page, four-column quarto, with the largest paid subscription list of any dairy paper in the world, and its name and fame are not confined to America. For years Mr. Hoard has been the leading lecturer on dairy matters before Farmers' Institutes, and has spoken forcibly and eloquently on his favorite theme all over the United States and Canada. His prominence in this great reform in matters pertaining to agriculture, and the practical good sense displayed in his pub-

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John Johnston

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lic utterances led to the suggestion of his nomination by the Republicans, in 1888, as candidate for Governor. The suggestion was received with favor, his nomination followed, and he was elected by a large plurality. His administration was rendered famous by the Bennett Law excitement, described in the historical part of this work. Governor Hoard was defeated in his candidacy for reëlection, and a worthy man and able and efficient official was relegated to private life. He retired to devote himself to the promotion of his dairy interests, which had become extensive. He was married February 9th, 1860, to Miss Agnes E. Bragg, daughter of William Bragg of Lake Mills. They have three sons—Halbert L., Arthur R. and Frank W., all associated with their father in his business. Governor Hoard has served as president of the village of Fort Atkinson, member of the Board of Supervisors of Jefferson county, and member of the Republican State Central committee. He is president of the National Dairy Union, which is composed of leading dairy societies of the States and boards of trade of cities, having for its object to secure legislation against the sale of counterfeit butter and cheese. He is a Mason—member of the Billings Lodge, Janesville commandery, and the Milwaukee consistory, member of the Modern Woodmen of America and of the United Workmen. He was a prominent candidate for the position of Secretary of Agriculture in President McKinley's Cabinet.

THEOBALD OTJEN.

Theobald Otjen, who represents the Fourth District, made his first campaign for Congress in the fall of 1892, his Democratic opponent being John L. Mitchell. The effects of the anti-Bennett law uprising in Milwaukee had not died away, and Mr. Otjen was defeated, as he had expected to be when he accepted the nomination. In April, 1893, a vacancy was created in the Milwaukee Congressional District by the resignation of Representative Mitchell. A special election was held and Mr. Otjen was again nominated for Representative by the Republicans. The Democratic candidate was Peter J. Somers. Mr. Somers was elected

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by 1,350 plurality. The favorable opportunity for Mr. Otjen was yet to come. In 1894 he was again the standard-bearer of his party, opposing David S. Rose, Democrat, and Henry Smith, Populist. Otjen's plurality was 5,622. In 1896 the Democrats and Populists fused in favor of Robert Schilling, but Otjen was reëlected, with about 4,500 votes to spare. He was again elected, by a plurality of 1,871, in 1898. Mr. Otjen was born in St. Clair county, Michigan, October 27, 1851. His parents were Germans, and his father was a successful farmer. When Theobald was four years old his mother died and his father, being seriously ill, the son was sent to live with an uncle. The uncle did not give the boy opportunity for education, keeping him out of school and at work. This was very distasteful to the lad, and he ran away. He was adopted by "Aunt" Emily Ward, of Detroit, a woman noted for her philanthropic zeal, who saw that his schooling was not neglected. In 1872 he came to Wisconsin to fill the position of yard foreman of the rolling mills at Bay View. While serving in this capacity, Mr. Otjen was introduced to politics, developing an active interest in the campaign of the time, becoming a recognized leader of the active political workers among the mill men. About this time he made his first campaign speech, devoting his attention to political affairs affecting the welfare of the workingmen. After two years spent in employment at Bay View he returned to Michigan, and after attending a private school for one year, he entered the Law School of Michigan University, from which he was graduated in 1876, when he devoted four years to the practice of law at Detroit. In 1879 he married, and not long afterward returned to Bay View, serving as Attorney of the village from 1883 to 1886. On the annexation of Bay View to the City of Milwaukee, Mr. Otjen was elected Alderman, and in this capacity he continued to act for seven years, making a record which endeared him to his constituents as a faithful, painstaking, levelheaded official. During his service in the Milwaukee City Council, Mr. Otjen was Chairman of the Committee on Legislation, and rendered excellent service in securing the passage of the Park Bill, under the operations of which the splendid public park system of Milwaukee has been established. In 1889,

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while still a member of the City Council, Mr. Otjen performed valuable service for the workingmen in the employ of one of the Street Railway companies. The relations which he had borne with the workingmen of the city gave them confidence in his judgment and in his devotion to their interests. This relation gave him opportunity to serve, at the request of the workingmen, as leading member of a Committee of Mediation between the Street Railway employees and the company during a threatened strike on account of a proposed reduction of wages. So successfully was the work of mediation performed, that the proposed reduction was abandoned and the strike was averted. During his career as Alderman Mr. Otjen was a member of the Public Library and Museum Board. Since his election to Congress he has served on the Committees on War Claims and Revision of the Laws. The former committee has a large number of bills before Congress growing out of the war, and Mr. Otjen has rendered efficient service on the committee in examining these claims and making reports thereon. He has made a number of speeches on bills of this character, but his most effective work in Congress has been exerted through personal influence among his fellow members. Of a noble nature, genial and kindly, yet aggressive in his labors to accomplish desired ends, Mr. Otjen has been successful in securing favorable action upon measures which he espoused. An interesting illustration of the effective manner in which he achieved desired results is furnished by what he did in the matter of the Milwaukee harbor of refuge. His predecessors had found it impossible to secure an appropriation large enough to finish the breakwater at once, and its construction dragged along, the storms of winter sometimes destroying nearly as much as had been built during the preceding season. By his work with the members of the Rivers and Harbors Committee, and his untiring industry in keeping the needs of the improvement before their minds, Mr. Otjen succeeded in getting the work placed on the continuing contract list, thereby insuring the full appropriation required, according to the Report of the Engineers then on file, and it is now on the high road to completion.

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JAMES H. CABANIS.

James H. Cabanis was born near Springfield, Illinois, December 25, 1838, and came to Wisconsin in 1845. His father was a native of Kentucky, and his mother a native of Illinois. His father was a frequent associate of Abraham Lincoln in their earlier days. While he did not split rails with "Uncle Abe," he assisted in the erection of the noted flat-boat spoken of in history. The Cabanis family were attracted to Wisconsin by the early discovery of lead ore. The family spent much of the early days of Wisconsin in log cabins, and experienced their full share of the roughness naturally associated with pioneer times. Politically, J. H. Cabanis has always been a staunch Republican, and has performed useful public service in the township of Smelser and the county of Grant. He has often been chairman, town superintendent and clerk of the township. He has also been a member of the County Board, and postmaster of his village. He was a member of the Legislature from his district in 1881 and was reëlected in 1882. It was while he was a member that the law was passed making the Legislature meet every two years instead of every year, and he supported the movement which brought about the change. For more than fifty years Mr. Cabanis lived in the township of Smelser, where the family located when coming from Illinois. He is now a resident of the thriving city of Platteville, and is its present Mayor. Mr. Cabanis, after receiving an academic education, spent several years teaching school. All his teaching for six years was done in his own township.

E. D. COE.

Edwin Delos Coe was born at Ixonia, Jefferson county, Wisconsin, June 11, 1840. He is a member of a family of English descent which has been settled in this country since 1634. His father's farm was on Rock river, seven miles above Watertown, and the first eight years of his life were spent there, the family removing at the end of that time to Beaver Dam, whence, after ten years, it removed to Watertown. He attended the public school and Wayland Academy at Beaver Dam, and the State

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University at Madison. He was in the senior year, at the last-named institution, when President Lincoln issued the first call for troops, in April, 1861, and he at once responded to the call. His company was assigned to the Second Regiment, Co. A, but did not leave the State. Soon after being mustered out he entered Co. A, First Wisconsin Cavalry, with which he served as a private and corporal, until January, 1863, sharing in all the campaigns and conflicts of the regiment up to that time. On account of injuries received in a fight with guerrillas in Arkansas, he was discharged at that time, but did not return North till the following August. On returning from the army he began the study of law, in the office of Messrs. Gill & Barber, at Watertown, and in the spring of 1864 went to Janesville, where he continued his legal studies with Messrs. Bennett, Cassoday & Gibbs. Here he pursued his studies with such vigor and success that he was admitted to the bar at the end of the year. His health, however, had been so much impaired in the military service that he was advised to engage in outdoor business. For a time he was associated with his father in the lumber trade at Watertown, and was one year engaged in the oil business at Bothwell, Canada, with the usual unsatisfactory results. In August, 1868, he bought a half interest in The Watertown Republican, and two years later engaged in the newspaper business at Beloit. In 1871 he purchased the Whitewater Register, and here he made his record as a journalist. For a quarter of a century he gave his attention to the production of a first-class local newspaper, and with eminent success. His editorial page always contained an impartial and able discussion of current topics. The editor was recognized as a tactful, judicious student of affairs, who had the courage of his convictions, and he became a power in State politics. Personally, Mr. Coe has a disposition and nature adapted to make and to retain friends. He is popular even with his political opponents. He rarely forgets a name or a face. Always an earnest supporter of the principles of the Republican party, he has several times been called upon to serve in a public capacity, and has discharged his duties with fidelity, industry and intelligence. He has served two terms as School Commissioner, was a member of

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the State Assembly in 1878 and 1879, and Chief Clerk of that body in 1882, 1885, 1887 and 1889. In 1890 he was asked to make the race for Congress in what was then the First district. Instead of this, he became the candidate on the State ticket for Secretary of State, sharing the common defeat of the Republican party in that historic campaign. In 1895 he was appointed by Gov. Upham a member of the State Board of Normal School Regents for the term ending 1898. He was chairman of the Republican State Central Committee in 1896, when Wisconsin rolled up a majority of over 100,000 for the Republican ticket. President McKinley appointed him United States pension agent at Milwaukee, which office he now holds. Mr. Coe is a member of the Congregationalist Church. He has been commander of C. E. Curtice Post, No. 34, Department of Wisconsin, Grand Army of the Republic, of which he is an active member. September 26, 1865, at Janesville, he married Miss Emma Ellsworth Spaulding, daughter of Joseph Spaulding, a prominent citizen. Five children have blessed their union—Florence, Elsie, Ellsworth Spaulding, Dwight Bushnell, Joseph Spaulding and Robert Kirkland.

GEORGE W. PECK.

That a man can be active in party politics and successful in a high degree, and despite the bitterness of feeling developed in hot campaigns can retain the hearty good-will of everybody—his most energetic opponents whom he defeats as well as his associates with whom he may differ as to matters of expediency within the party—is illustrated by the unlimited and illimitable personal popularity of George W. Peck. There was never a campaign in Wisconsin which developed more rancorous strife than the "Bennett law" campaign of 1890, in which the Democrats overturned the Republican ascendancy in Milwaukee and then in the State at large, which had been under Republican rule uninterruptedly since 1875. Yet Mr. Peck, the successful candidate of the Democratic party, first for Mayor, and then for Governor, which latter office he held for two terms, was through all this strife, and is

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now, a man without a personal enemy in the world—a man for whom all who know him would, irrespective of political or other considerations which usually engender prejudice, go out of their way at any time of the day or night, to do him a personal favor. George Wilbur Peck was born in Hudson, Jefferson county, New York, on the 28th of September, 1840, and came with his parents to Whitewater, Wisconsin, when a child of less than three years. His education was received at the common schools, and was completed, so far as the schools were concerned, when he was fifteen years of age. His first essay in the more serious duties of life was as an apprentice to the trade of printer in the office of The Whitewater Register. After he had learned this trade he worked as a journeyman on a number of Wisconsin papers, and at length became foreman of The Watertown Republican, for the duties of which position he received the absurdly small sum of $3.50 per week. This business did not present many inducements for an ambitious young man, and he became clerk in a hotel in Janesville, where he remained until the proprietor failed. While in the hotel, ere he had attained his majority, he married Miss Francena Rowley of Delavan, Wis., who bore him three sons, the eldest of whom is Geo. W. Jr. Soon after his marriage he purchased an interest in The Jefferson County Republican, and took charge of the mechanical department of the paper. In 1863 he sold out his interest in the establishment and for a short time was a compositor on The Madison Journal. He next enlisted in the Fourth Wisconsin cavalry, in which he served until 1866—one year after the close of the war. Returning home, he established The Ripon Representative, on which he did the local and mechanical work. He retained his active connection with this paper until 1868, meantime having attracted some attention as a humorous writer, and "Brick" Pomeroy offered him a salary of forty dollars a week to go to New York and write for the Democrat. This offer he accepted, and remained in New York city two and a half years. Pomeroy then sent him to La Crosse to write for The La Crosse Democrat. After two years the paper passed into the hands of John Symes and Mr. Peck, and was published by them until 1874,

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when Mr. Peck withdrew from it and established The La Crosse Sun, a weekly paper. The venture did not prove very successful, and, after four years, he removed it to Milwaukee, where, by reason of Mr. Peck's peculiar humor, it became at once very popular, reaching, at one time, a weekly circulation of 80,000 copies, and proving very profitable. This paper he published until elected Governor. Mr. Peck has generally affiliated with the Democracy, although he voted for Lincoln for President in 1864. He was City Treasurer of Ripon in 1867, Chief of Police of La Crosse in 1874 and Chief Clerk of the Legislative Assembly in 1875. He served as Assistant State Treasury Agent under Gov. Taylor for one year, and was chairman of the La Crosse Democratic city and county committee in 1880. He was the Democratic nominee for Mayor of Milwaukee in the spring of 1890, and was elected by the almost unprecedented majority of 6,500. His surprising popularity in this election won him the Democratic nomination for Governor in the fall of 1890, when he was elected by 28,330 plurality. In 1892 he was renominated and re-elected by a plurality of 7,707. He was again renominated in 1894, but was overwhelmingly defeated, as was his party throughout the North. Since retiring from the gubernatorial office he has devoted himself to his private business. During the summer of 1899 he re-established The Sun, which had disappeared under an eclipse while he was busied with political affairs, and which bids fair to regain under his genial influence its old meridian height as an illuminator of the minds of men, dispersing the blue devils of melancholy wherever it shines. Mr. Peck is the author of several humorous books, which have had a wide sale in this country and Europe.

WILLIAM H. UPHAM.

In 1861 the newspapers of Racine published the obituary of a young soldier of that city who had been shot through the lungs at the first battle of Bull Run and left for dead upon the field. A minister in one of the churches preached an eloquent sermon on the same theme. The young soldier was William H. Upham. He was not dead, but recovered, and thirty-three years later was

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A. A. Grace

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elected Governor of Wisconsin by a larger majority than had ever up to that time been cast for a candidate for that office. Willian H. Upham is a descendant of John Upham, of Somerset, England, who came to this country in 1639. He was born at Westminster, Massachusetts, May 3, 1841. He came West with his father when eleven years of age, settling first at Niles, Michigan, where the father died, after which the family moved to Racine. Here young Upham received his education, and here, at the breaking out of the war, he enlisted as a private in the Second Wisconsin Infantry. The Confederates found him wounded on the battlefield, and he was taken first to a hospital and afterward to Libby Prison. After months of prison life he was paroled and went to Washington. President Lincoln, hearing of his wonderful experiences, sent for him in the hope of gaining important information from him concerning affairs in the South, and such information young Upham gave. The President was so pleased with the bearing of the young man that he procured for him an appointment to the West Point military academy, from which he graduated with honor, after completing the regular course of study, and was commissioned lieutenant in the regular army. At the end of ten years' service in the army, Lieut. Upham resigned his commission and returned home. Almost immediately upon returning to civil life he became interested in the lumbering business at Marshfield, Wisconsin, built a saw-mill, and later established a furniture factory, opened a large general store, and was one of the organizers of the First National bank, of which he was chosen president. In addition to these he operates a large planing-mill, a machine shop, and a very extensive flouring mill. June 27th, 1887, Marshfield was almost entirely destroyed by fire, and the homeless inhabitants were in despair. Though the heaviest loser, Major Upham was not discouraged, but announced that the little city should be rebuilt; and by the 1st of January following sixty-two substantial brick blocks were built and occupied, and the city was again started on a career of industrial progress. Maj. Upham married Miss Mary C. Kelley, an accomplished and benevolent lady of Quaker ancestry, and they have two daughters. He has retained a lively interest in military affairs, is a member of the

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Loyal Legion, the Grand Army of the Republic, has been commander of the latter for the Department of Wisconsin, and was once a member of the board of visitors to the naval academy at Annapolis, Maryland. He has been long an active and earnest Republican, and has rendered his party great service in its campaigns. When Republican candidate for Governor, in 1894, his plurality was 53,869. His administration is so recent that it is fresh in the memory of the people. Toward the close of his term, his large business interests requiring close attention, he announced that he would not be a candidate for renomination. He has hosts of friends, who are gratified to note the flourishing condition of his vast business interests at Marshfield since he has resumed their active control.

MICHAEL GRIFFIN.

A young sergeant of the Twelfth Wisconsin was in hospital, after the encounter at Bald Hill, Georgia, on the 21st of July, 1864, suffering with a wound in the jaw, which he had received during the charge on the enemy's works. Hearing the noise of battle the next day, though still suffering from his wound, he left the hospital, found his place at the front in the ranks of his regiment, and bore his part in the sanguinary fray. Meantime, at roll-call in the hospital, he failed to answer to his name, and was reported as a deserter. When the colonel of the regiment heard the report, he made the remark that he wished all the soldiers in the hospital would "desert" the way Sergeant Griffin did. Michael Griffin, now head of the Wisconsin tax commission, who was the hero of this picturesque incident, has had an interesting history. He was born in County Clare, Ireland, September 9, 1842. Five years thereafter his parents immigrated to America, taking up their residence in Canada. In 1851 they moved to Hudson, Summit county, Ohio, where the boy gained, in the common school, the rudiments of his education. In 1856 the family moved to Newport, Sauk county, Wisconsin, where young Griffin continued his studies in the district school. Though but nineteen years of age when the war broke out, he freely gave himself to his adopted

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country, enlisting on the 11th of September, 1861, in Company E of the Twelfth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry. The company was mustered into service in November, and Griffin was at once made sergeant. He saw service in the Southwest, marched and countermarched under Grant in Mississippi, and participated in the siege of Vicksburg. After the fall of that stronghold the regiment re-enlisted and joined Gen. Sherman's army before Atlanta, participating in the principal engagements of his brilliant campaign. February 11, 1865, he was commissioned second lieutenant, and on the 5th of the following July he received a commission as first lieutenant. On being mustered out of the service at the close of the war, he began the study of law in the office of Jonathan Bowman of Kilbourn City, at which place he entered upon the practice of his profession, after being admitted to the bar, May 19, 1868. He was cashier of the Bank of Kilbourn from 1871 to 1876, and filled the offices of Town Clerk and member of the Board of Supervisors. In 1875 he was elected to the Assembly from Columbia County. In 1876 he moved to Eau Claire, where he has since resided and has been actively engaged in the practice of the law. He was City Attorney of Eau Claire from 1878 to 1880, and in 1879 was elected to the State Senate. In 1889 Gov. Hoard appointed him Quartermaster-General, with the rank of Brigadier-General. In 1887 he was elected Department Commander of the G. A. R. On the death of Congressman Shaw, in 1894, Gen. Griffin was elected by the Republicans of the Seventh District to serve out his unexpired term, being renominated without opposition in 1896, and elected by a plurality of 12,296. He was chairman of the Republican State Convention in 1896. In 1899, when the Legislature passed a law authorizing the organization of the State Tax Commission, Gov. Scofield appointed Gen. Griffin to the headship of that important body. Gen. Griffin is a member of the Loyal Legion as well as of the G. A. R. He also belongs to the Masonic Fraternity, the Knights of Pythias and the Royal Arcanum. He was married in 1871 at Kilbourn City to Miss Emma I. Daniels. They have had but one child, who died in infancy.

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JOHN C. SPOONER.

John Coit Spooner was born at Lawrenceburg, Dearborn county, Indiana, January 6, 1843. His father, a distinguished lawyer and judge, was descended from a family whose immigrant ancestor came to this country from the neighborhood of Colchester, England, and settled in Massachusetts in 1637. His mother, whose maiden name was Coit, was a member of a New England family of Welsh extraction, and was a woman of notable intellectual ability and energy of character. The Spooners and the Coits were represented in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812 and the Mexican War. Judge Spooner removed with his family to Madison, Wis., in June, 1859, where he spent the remainder of his life in the practice of his profession, establishing a reputation for legal acumen, which is largely inherited by his distinguished son. John C. completed his preparation for college in the schools of Madison, and entered the University of Wisconsin in 1860 at the age of seventeen, becoming at once a leader of his class, and graduating with honor in 1864. Scarcely had he closed his university course when he enlisted as a private in Company D, Fortieth regiment of Wisconsin infantry, which was largely recruited from students and teachers of Wisconsin colleges and other institutions of learning. At the end of a hundred days' service he re-enlisted for three years, or "during the war," as a captain of Company A, Fiftieth regiment, and was detailed to Fort Leavenworth and later to the far Northwest to prevent outbreaks of the Indians. The duties of this frontier service were performed with that energy and fidelity which have characterized all his public life; and, when at the close of the war he was mustered out, it was with the rank of brevet-major, and a record for faithful, efficient discharge of duty of which many an older soldier might have been proud. At the close of his military service he was appointed military and private secretary of Governor Fairchild, and, at the same time, he began the study of law under the direction of his father, and was admitted to the bar in 1867. The following year he was appointed assistant attorney-general to Charles R. Gill, and subsequently to S. S. Barlow; and so faithfully and with such

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[illegible] Lackawanna, [illegible] 9, 1855. [illegible] of a New [illegible] Mexico War of [illegible] University [illegible] Scranton [illegible] Wilkes-Barre [illegible] Gov. [illegible] 1897. The following year [illegible] assistant attorney general to Charles R. Gill, [illegible] to S. S. Barlow; and so faithfully and well [illegible]

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ability did he discharge the duties of this position that he acquired a reputation as a lawyer, which soon became as wide as the State and gave prophecy of the distinction which he has since attained in the profession. In 1870 he removed to Hudson, Wis., where he engaged in legal practice, speedily acquiring an extensive and varied business, and enhancing his reputation as a profound, careful and resourceful lawyer. In 1872, while still under thirty years of age, he was elected a member of the lower house of the State Legislature, and in this body he, at once, took first rank as a legislator, discharging every duty of the position with that fidelity, discrimination and wisdom which had characterized him in every place to which he had been called. In 1882 he received appointment as Regent of his Alma Mater, the State University, a position for which he was admirably fitted, and in which he rendered the cause of higher education signal and lasting service. This place he held for three years, when other and wider duties compelled its relinquishment. As the end of the term of Angus Cameron in the United States Senate approached, in 1885, the attention of many was turned to Mr. Spooner as a fitting successor to Mr. Cameron. Other men of great ability were very properly ambitious of the Republican nomination for this position, but the contest narrowed to him and ex-Gov. Fairchild. The contest was a friendly one, alike honorable to both, and for some time very much in doubt as to the result; but as the time for the nomination drew near it became apparent that the supporters of the younger man were in the ascendant, and he received the nomination by a handsome majority, and was duly elected January 28, 1885, receiving 76 votes to 48 for his Democratic competitor. No one more heartily congratulated Senator Spooner on his nomination and election than Gov. Fairchild. Mr. Spooner entered the Senate at the age of forty-two, served the full term of six years, and was succeeded by William F. Vilas, the Democrats having attained control of the Senate in 1891. In 1892 Senator Spooner was made the Republican nominee for Governor, but though he greatly reduced the Democratic majority of 1890, he was defeated. While one of the youngest men who ever attained a seat in the Senate, he

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at once, on becoming a member of that body, attracted the attention of his colleagues and of the whole country by the industry and wisdom which he displayed, and ere his term had more than half gone, was a leader of the Senate. He was chairman of the committee on claims and survey and a member of the judiciary committee and the committee on District of Columbia; and some of the most effective and valuable work ever accomplished on those committees was performed by him. On the floor of the Senate he occupied a commanding position, taking part in the discussion of great national questions. Nor was he neglectful of the immediate interests of his own State. At the close of his term, his associates in the Senate gave him the unusual compliment of a parting reception. When the question of electing a successor to Senator Vilas was broached, the almost unanimous choice was Senator Spooner. Although the Republicans had a large majority in the Legislature, he received every vote in the Republican caucus, and was again elected United States Senator for six years from March 4th, 1897. He was assigned to duty on the committees on relations with Canada, judiciary, privileges and elections, and rules. Mr. Spooner was married on the 10th of September, 1868, to Miss Annie E. Main of Madison, a lady of culture and possessing great musical talent. They have had four sons, one of whom, John C. Jr., died in 1881, at the age of six years. The others are Charles Philip, born in 1869, and Willet Main, born in 1873, members of the Milwaukee bar, and Phillip L., a student.

JOHN J. JENKINS.

John J. Jenkins was born at Weymouth, England, August 20, 1843, and came with his parents to Wisconsin nine years later. At Baraboo, where they made their home, he gained an education in the public schools, and when the Civil War broke out he enlisted as a member of the Sixth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, in which regiment he made a creditable record. After his return to Baraboo at the close of the war, he was elected Clerk of the Circuit Court. In 1870 he removed to Chippewa Falls. He was

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a member of the Assembly in 1872, County Judge of Chippewa county from that year to 1876, and City Attorney of Chippewa Falls for five terms. He was United States district attorney for the territory of Wyoming under appointment by President Grant in 1876. In 1894 he was elected to Congress by the Republicans of the Tenth district. He was re-elected in 1896 and again in 1898. As a member of Congress, Mr. Jenkins has served on the judiciary committee, the committee on elections, the committee on District of Columbia, and the committee on irrigation of arid lands.

HENRY CASSON.

Henry Casson is a native of Brownsville, Fayette county, Pennsylvania, where he was born December 13, 1843. He came West with his parents when but five years of age, and his first western home was in Illinois, where he early learned the trade of printer, which he followed with slight intervals for some eighteen years, or until 1873, when he came to Wisconsin, settling at Viroqua, Vernon county. There has ever since been his legal home, though much of his life has been spent in Madison and Washington, whither his official duties have called him. In 1875 he purchased The Vernon County Censor, and for ten years was its editor and publisher. In 1885 Gov. Rusk made him his private secretary, which position he held through the remainder of the Governor's service in the executive office. His thorough knowledge of the duties of this responsible post led to his retention in it by Gov. Hoard, and when the political complexion of the administration changed, he retired from the office with the good will of all who ever had any official relations with the executive department during his connection with it. Gov. Rusk, upon receiving the appointment of secretary of agriculture in President Harrison's cabinet, remembering Col. Casson's efficiency and fidelity in the discharge of his official duties, appointed him his private secretary, and this position he held for a year, when he was made chief clerk of the department. In this place he remained until the expiration of President Harrison's term, March 4th, 1893,

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when he retired. In August, 1893, he became private secretary to Congressman J. W. Babcock, and held the place for a year, when he was nominated by the Republican convention of Wisconsin for Secretary of State, and elected by a plurality of 60,125, and a majority over his three opponents of 24,704. When his term was drawing to a close there was no suggestion of a change, and he was renominated by the convention by acclamation, and elected by a much larger majority for a second term, which came to a close in January, 1890. Under the McKinley administration, Col. Casson served as an inspector of rural mail delivery until the assembling of the Fifty-sixth Congress, when he was elected sergeant-at-arms of the House. Col. Casson was married, in 1874, to Miss Ethel Haughton of Vernon county, Wisconsin, and they have one son, who is the third in the line of descent to bear the name Henry.

S. S. BARNEY.

Samuel Stebbins Barney was born in Hartford, Washington county, Wisconsin, January 31, 1846. His father, the son of a Revolutionary soldier, was a pioneer, and settled in Hartford before the town was organized, and before the State was admitted to the Union. He was always active in the local affairs of the township. His mother, a not very distant relative of the celebrated Scotch preacher, John Knox, was a woman of remarkable mental endowment, and from her were probably inherited those high intellectual qualities which have distinguished her son among his fellow citizens. Both parents dying before he was old enough to realize their loss, and leaving a very small estate, the children were reduced to the necessity of making their own way in the world as best they could. When the War of the Rebellion broke out his two older brothers enlisted and went to the front, one of them being instantly killed at the bloody battle of Stone River, the other returning with shattered health and dying shortly afterward. Mr. Barney was educated in the common schools and at Lombard University, Galesburg, Ill., after which he taught school at Hartford during the years 1869, 1870 and 1871, when he began

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J. E. Jones

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the study of law in the office of the late L. F. Frisby, formerly attorney-general of Wisconsin. He was admitted to the bar in 1872, began practice in West Bend, and has continued it there to the present time. He was elected Superintendent of Schools of Washington county in 1875 and held the office for four years from the 1st of January, 1876. He edited The Washington County Republican, now The Hartford Press, at West Bend, during the years 1872 and 1873. It was about this time that he attracted public attention outside of his county by an exceedingly able speech in the Republican State Convention at Madison; and when the Republicans, in 1884, sought a candidate for Congress in the old Fifth district, with whom they might hope to overcome the personal popularity of Gen. Bragg and the large Democratic majority in the district, they nominated Mr. Barney. The odds against him, however, were too great to be overcome, and he was defeated, although he made a gallant fight and polled the full strength of his party in the district. In the same year he was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in Chicago which nominated James G. Blaine for President. In 1894 he was again Republican candidate for Congress, and was successful, receiving 18,681 votes to 16,851 for the Democratic and Populist candidates, or a majority over both of 1,830, and a plurality of 5,624. In 1896 he was a candidate for re-election and received 26,613 votes to 17,049, the combined vote of the Democratic and Socialist-Labor candidates—or a majority of 9,564, and a plurality of 10,121. In 1898 his plurality was 3,823. Mr. Barney is not a member of any club or church. He was married in 1876 to Miss Ellen McHenry of West Bend. They have four children, Sara, John, Sybil and Marian.

BURR W. JONES.

In the fall of 1882, while trying a case in a distant county, Burr W. Jones, then as now an attorney, residing at Madison, was notified by telegram that he had been nominated as the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Third district, the nomination being wholly unsought and unexpected. Although at first

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there seemed little prospect of success, as the campaign progressed the prospects brightened and the situation was made more favorable for the young candidate by the fact that a bitter struggle was waging in the Republican camp between the rival candidates—E. W. Keyes and Geo. C. Hazelton. As the contest progressed toward the close it became apparent that Mr. Jones would be the victor, and he was elected by more than 1,300 votes over the combined vote of both his opponents. Mr. Jones was born March 9, 1846, in the town of Union, Rock county, Wisconsin, near the present village of Evansville. He was the son of William and Sarah M. (Prentice) Jones. The youth attended the district school in winter, in summer he worked on the farm. Part of the money with which he defrayed his college expenses was obtained by teaching school. He entered the State university in 1866, taking the classical course; worked on the farm during his vacations to assist in paying his expenses, and graduated in 1870, with one of the honors of his class. While attending the law department, from which he was graduated in 1871, he studied in the offices of John Gurnee and William F. Vilas. He began the practice of his profession at Portage in the winter of 1871-2, but was soon afterward offered a partnership with Judge A. S. Sanborn, and, in the spring, returned to Madison. In the fall of 1872 he was elected District Attorney of Dane county on the Democratic ticket, was re-elected in 1874, but declined to be a candidate for a third term. Afterward he was, for several years, City Attorney of Madison. His partnership with Judge Sanborn was dissolved in 1873. Then followed successively partnerships with A. C. Parkinson, F. J. Lamb and E. Ray Stevens, the latter being still in existence. Although Mr. Jones has always devoted himself to his profession, he has taken an active interest in public affairs. His first political speeches were in the Greeley campaign of 1872, and he has ever since been in demand in political campaigns, and has given such time to his party as could be spared from his professional duties. During his term in Congress Mr. Jones had an opportunity for much more active service than is usually vouchsafed to new members. He was second on the important Committee on War Claims; and, as the Chairman, Judge Geddes of Ohio, was

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in feeble health much of the time, and unable to perform the duties of Chairman, such responsibilities were thrown upon Mr. Jones that he often participated in the debates and had charge of important business. He was in accord with his party on the questions of tariff, revenue and finance, and was especially identified with the movement for the reform of Civil Service. He was nominated for reëlection in 1884, but the district was Republican, and, though he ran ahead of his ticket, he was defeated. On leaving Congress he continued his professional work, declining opportunities for political preferment, but rendering his party service in its campaigns. In 1892 he was temporary and permanent Chairman of the Democratic State Convention, in Milwaukee, and, in his address, indicated the lines on which the campaign should be conducted; and, in the two years following, he was a member of the State Central Committee. In the campaign of 1896, he, in common with many other Democrats, declined to follow the leadership of Bryan, and refused acquiescence in the doctrines of the Chicago convention. He attended the Milwaukee convention which chose delegates to the Indianapolis National Democratic Convention, was selected one of those delegates, and was the one chosen to present the name of General Bragg to the convention as candidate for President. This he did in an appropriate and impressive speech. Since 1885 Mr. Jones has been one of the professors in the Law School of the University of Wisconsin. His law practice is extensive. He is the author of a work on the law of evidence, which has had an extended sale and is highly regarded by the profession. By appointment of Governor Scofield, he served in 1897-8 as Chairman of the Commission for the Revision of the Tax Laws. Mr. Jones was married in December, 1873, to Olive L. Hoyt, daughter of Lansing W. Hoyt, an old resident of Madison and former Treasurer of Dane county. They have one child—a daughter.

JOSEPH W. BABCOCK.

Joseph W. Babcock, who is now serving his fourth consecutive term in Congress as Representative of the Third District of Wisconsin, was born in Swantown, Vermont, March 6, 1850, and

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came West with his parents in childhood, living in Iowa until 1881, and receiving his education and his start in business in that State. He is a lumberman and lives at Necedah. Before his first election to Congress he served two terms in the Wisconsin Legislature. As Chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, Congressman Joseph W. Babcock of the Third Wisconsin District is, from the point of view of residents of the Capital city, the biggest man in Washington, next to President McKinley. His committee fixes the amounts of the appropriations for all improvements in Washington, and maps out the work which the District of Columbia commission afterward executes. He is the only man in the House who has one day in every week over which he enjoys absolute control. This is the day devoted to District of Columbia affairs. On this day Mr. Babcock allows other business to be transacted by the House for a little while in the morning, but when he gets ready to transact District business he becomes supreme. He has been courted by Washington people more than any other man in the House, not even excepting "Czar" Reed. Mr. Babcock is also Chairman of the National Congressional Committee—another position which carries with it important influence. He has conducted three national campaigns with marked success.

EDWARD I. KIDD.

State Bank Examiner Edward I. Kidd was born in Millville, Grant county, May 10, 1845, and has always resided in this State. His education was gained in the public schools, supplemented by an academic course, which he had not completed when, on August 9th, 1862, he enlisted in the Union army. The regiment to which he was assigned was the Twenty-fifth Wisconsin, commanded by Col. Rusk. He served in all the campaigns of this gallant command, including the siege of Vicksburg, the operations about Atlanta, and Sherman's marches to the sea, and north through the Carolinas to Washington. Returning home to Millville after the close of the war, he engaged in business, and was elected to various local offices, among which was member of the Board

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EDWARD L. KIDD.

State Senator Edward L. Kidd was born in Millville, Grant county, March [illegible] and has always resided in this State. His education was gained in the public schools, supplemented by an academic course, which he had just completed when, on August 6th, 1862, he enlisted in the Union army. The regiment to which he was assigned was the Twenty-ninth Wisconsin, commanded by Col. Ross. He served in all the campaigns of this gallant command, including the siege of Vicksburg, the operations about Atlanta, and Sherman's marches to the sea, and north through the Carolinas to Washington. Returning home to Millville after the close of the war, he engaged in business, and was elected to various local offices, among which was member of the Board

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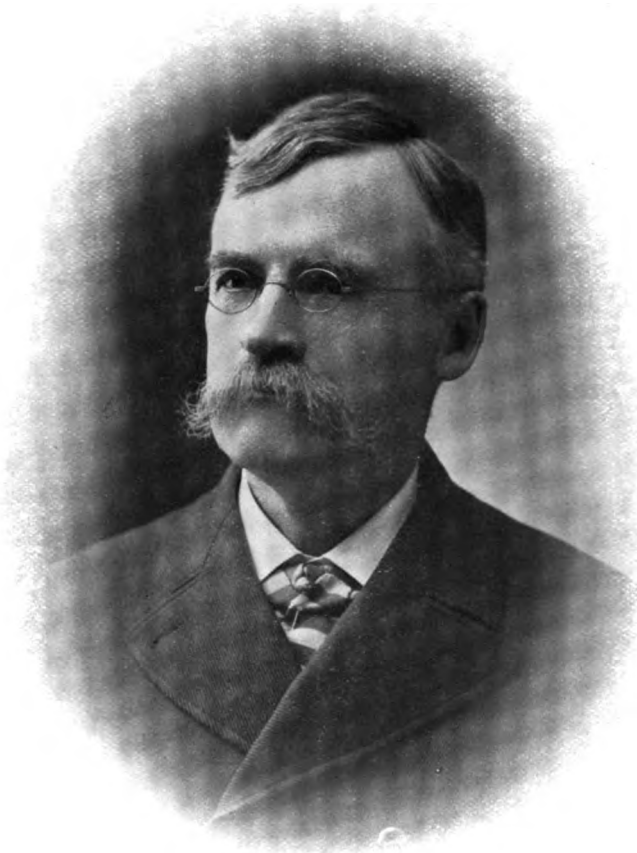

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of Supervisors of Grant county, which he held for fifteen years. He was a member of the Legislature in 1880, 1881 and 1883; and was a member of the State Senate for two successive terms—from 1885 to 1891. He was Chairman of the Joint Committee on Claims in 1885, 1887 and 1889, and was the author of a number of important measures both in the Assembly and the Senate; and, during all his legislative service, he was among the most influential members, because always careful, attentive to his duties and always well informed as to the scope of the measures proposed and their probable effect if they should become laws. In 1889 he removed from Millville to Prairie du Chien, where he has been engaged in the banking business. Since his residence in Prairie du Chien he has been Chairman of the Board of Supervisors of Crawford county, and in other ways his fellow citizens have shown their confidence in his ability and integrity. The Legislature of 1895 enacted a law providing for an examiner of State and private banks, and Governor Upham appointed Mr. Kidd to the office, concluding that his long and varied legislative experience, his careful methods and conservative views, and his well-known integrity, as well as his familiarity with the banking business, fitted him, in an unusual degree, for the discharge of the responsible duties of Examiner. This position he has continued to hold during the two terms of Governor Scofield. Mr. Kidd is a Republican, and has always been an active worker for the party.

HENRY C. ADAMS.

Henry C. Adams was born in Verona, Oneida county, New York, November 28, 1850, and came to Wisconsin during his nonage, going to work upon a farm. Like Abraham Lincoln, he had a thirst for knowledge which led him to give his spare hours to study. When opportunity offered, he took a year's course at Albion Academy, followed by three years at the State University. After leaving the university he established himself in the dairy and fruit business near Madison, in which he continued till 1889, when he became interested in real estate. A Republican from the time he was old enough to vote, he began to be active in campaign

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work in 1880, and has taken an energetic part in every important canvass since. In 1883 and 1885 he was a member of the lower house of the Legislature. In 1889 Gov. Hoard made him Superintendent of Public Property, in which capacity he served for two years. Upon the accession of Gov. Upham, Mr. Adams was appointed State Dairy and Food Commissioner, and reappointed by Gov. Scofield. In this office he has done excellent work for all those interested in dairying and in pure food, among the latter of which should be classed every individual. Mr. Adams is an educated man and a practical farmer, and thus well equipped for the responsible duties which he has to discharge. His knowledge of all the departments of farm work, and his interest in them, rendered his appointment peculiarly acceptable to all who are interested in any way in agricultural matters. He was engaged in farm institute work for three years, and was one of the most popular and successful conductors engaged in that work. He was Secretary of the State Horticultural Society for two years, President of the State Dairymen's Association for three years, and member of the State Board of Agriculture for eight years. He has been efficient in enforcing the provisions of the law against food adulterations, especially those relating to the products of the farm and the dairy; and it was due in no small measure to his efforts that this law was enacted. He was one of the committee of the National Dairy Union which went to Washington and did effective work in behalf of the bill against filled cheese. Mr. Adams has been a member of many State and Congressional conventions, and was a delegate-at-large to the National Convention in 1888. He is a man of great energy, a clear, forcible and even eloquent speaker on political questions, and in the controversy over the currency in 1896 was an effective speaker against the theory of the free coinage of silver. Mr. Adams was married, in 1878, to Anna B. Norton of Madison. They have four children—two boys and two girls.

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THOMAS FRANCIS FRAWLEY.

Without holding office a man may be conspicuous and influential in the political life of a State, and deserve an honorable place in its political history. Such a place is justly assigned to Thomas Francis Frawley, of Eau Claire. He was born March 6, 1851, near Troy, New York, the son of Thomas and Honora Hogan Frawley. Early in the fifties the family removed to Wisconsin, settling on a farm in the town of Vermont, Dane county. Here began young Frawley's education in the district school. His summers, when he became old enough to work, were devoted to manual labor on the farm, and his winters to study. After a course in Albion Academy, he entered the University of Wisconsin, in the spring of 1872, in the last term of the freshman year. Paying his way by teaching school, he worked through the university, and was graduated with the class of 1875. While in the university he was a member of the Athenian Society, and participated in its joint debate in 1874. From September, 1875, to June, 1880, he was principal of one of the High schools of Eau Claire, studying law during his spare hours. In 1880 he received the Master's degree from the university, and in the same year was admitted to the bar and began the practice of the law, in which his brilliant ability has won him clients, remuneration and honor. Politically, Mr. Frawley is a Democrat, and for years has been prominent and influential in the councils of the party. He was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention in St. Louis in 1888. In 1892 he made an omnibus speech, upon which the Democratic incumbents of the State offices were nominated for reëlection. For many years, down to 1896, he was a member of the Democratic State Central Committee, and in the last named year he presided at the State convention in Milwaukee, which met for the selection of delegates to the National Democratic Convention at Chicago. Upon taking the chair as presiding officer of the convention, he made an elaborate and able speech in regard to what should be the policy of the party, and especially against the adoption of the free coinage of silver in the platform. This speech had much influence in the convention, and largely shaped its official declaration. When it was found that the Chicago

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convention platform favored the "free silver" policy, he repudiated it, resigned his membership in the State Central Committee and was chosen a member of the National or Gold Democratic State Central Committee. He was for ten years a member and for several years president of the Common Council of Eau Claire, and for many years a member of the Board of Education of that city. He is also President of the Eau Claire County Bar Association. In religion he is a Roman Catholic. Mr. Frawley was married in August, 1877, to Miss Lydia A. Lawler. They have one child living, Thomas F. Frawley, Jr.

IRA B. BRADFORD.

Ira B. Bradford is a native of Wisconsin, born in the Town of Fulton, Rock county, on the 24th day of June, 1851. He is the son of Elbridge Bradford, a native of New Hampshire, and a descendant of Gov. William Bradford. The elder Bradford came to Wisconsin in April, 1851. In August of the same year he returned with his family to Washington, New Hampshire, where the subject of this sketch was reared and received an academic education among the sturdy, even-going people of the "Old Granite State." When out of school he followed his father's trade as a carpenter, being accustomed to work from childhood. At sixteen years of age he commenced teaching school and taught and attended school until the fall of 1869, when he went to Edinboro, Pennsylvania, and soon after commenced to study law, which he continued, teaching winters, in Pennsylvania and New Hampshire, until February, 1873, when he came to Janesville, Wisconsin, and on the 3d day of March following was admitted to the bar at Monroe, Wis., and settled at once in Augusta, where he has ever since continued to reside. In politics he has always been a Republican. He was elected to the Assembly in 1880, and again in 1881, at which session he was elected Speaker. At the close of his term of office he declined further political advancement and retired from the political field, and has ever since devoted his time to his private business, serving, however, as the first Mayor of the City of Augusta in 1885. Being in rather delicate health some years

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ago, Mr. Bradford was obliged to relinquish the active practice of his profession, and embarked quite extensively upon farming. This brought him in close touch with the problems of agricultural life, both as to production and transportation, and allied him very closely with our rural population. Mr. Bradford's election to the legislative Speakership was a distinctive victory for the younger element of the Republican party. He triumphed so gracefully and filled the high position so acceptably, that the young men all over the commonwealth felt proud of him as their leader, so much so, in fact, that though now he has passed a little beyond their meridian in years—though not in spirit—the young Republicans still look upon him as one of their number, and his elevation to the Governorship is generally regarded as a possibility in the near future.

ELLIS B. USHER.

Ellis B. Usher was born June 21, 1852, in the Town of Buxton, York county, Maine. His father, Isaac L. Usher, came to Wisconsin in the spring of 1855 as the agent of Washburn & Woodman, of Mineral Point, bringing his family, which then consisted of his wife and son. Cyrus Woodman was the brother of Mrs. Usher. After spending the winter in Clark county, the family settled in La Crosse county in the spring of 1856, where E. B. Usher has ever since lived. Isaac L. Usher was an Abolitionist and a prominent Republican, serving one term as Sheriff, and being prominently mentioned for Congress in the sixties. In 1877 Ellis B. Usher's first vote was cast for C. C. Washburn for Governor. April 1, 1875, he bought a half interest in The La Crosse Liberal Democrat of John Symes. July 30, 1878, Robert Howard bought out Mr. Symes. November 1, 1879, the firm of Usher & Howard dissolved, and Mr. Usher has since been sole proprietor and editor of the paper. For ten years his father assisted in the editorial work. October 6, 1899, The Chronicle Publishing Company was organized, and Mr. Usher continues as the principal stockholder and editor. Mr. Usher's first Democratic ticket and first vote for President was cast for Samuel J. Tilden in 1876, since which time the only Republican ballot he has

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ever cast was in 1898, for the State ticket. He was chosen chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee March 30, 1887, to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of W. A. Walker. He conducted the campaign of 1888 and was reëlected chairman for the term of two years that would have expired December 31, 1890, but on January 15, 1890, he resigned and was succeeded by E. C. Wall. In 1896 Mr. Usher was one of the first men in the country to denounce the Chicago convention. He telegraphed to Gen. E. S. Bragg, one of Wisconsin's delegates-at-large to Chicago, on July 9, the day before Bryan's nomination, as follows: "Don't let the starting of an independent gold movement wait a month nor a minute. It must be done before you leave Chicago." To The Evening Wisconsin Mr. Usher said, on July 9, the day the Chicago platform was adopted: "If the platform of the Chicago convention is Democratic, then I have utterly failed to understand Democracy, and never was a Democrat, am not now and never can be." Mr. Usher was one of the twenty-three men who met at the Auditorium in Chicago July 23d and started the Indianapolis movement. Senator Vilas, Gen. Bragg and Mr. Usher represented Wisconsin in that conference. Mr. Usher was appointed provisional National Committeeman for Wisconsin. He organized the State Convention of Gold Democrats that met August 26, in Milwaukee, nearly 500 strong, and sent the four delegates-at-large and seven of the District delegates who had attended the Chicago convention back to Indianapolis, a record not equaled by any other State. Mr. Usher was chosen Chairman of the Gold Democratic State Central Committee and, at Indianapolis, he was made National Committeeman. He was one of the signers of the address to the country calling the Indianapolis convention. Mr. Usher, on October 9, resigned both of these positions and announced that he would hereafter act with the Republican party. Mr. Usher has never held an appointive or an elective office. He declined the chief clerkship of the Postoffice Department in 1885, and a consulate in 1887. He was urged to take the La Crosse postoffice in 1893, but refused it. He has never desired office, and the committee positions he has held have been forced upon him against his protest in both cases, and in both cases he resigned before his term expired.

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HENRY ALLEN COOPER.

Henry Allen Cooper was born in Walworth county, Wisconsin, and is a graduate of the Northwestern University at Evanston and the Union College of Law at Chicago, his diploma from the latter institution bearing date of 1875. He established himself in practice at Racine, where, in 1880, he was elected District Attorney, being reëlected without opposition in 1882 and 1884. In 1886 and 1887 he was a member of the School Board, and in 1887 he was chosen to represent his district in the State Senate. When, in 1896, he was elected to Congress for the third time his plurality was nearly as large as the whole vote for his Democratic opponent. The poll stood: Cooper, Rep., 28,235; Mahoney, Dem., 14,723; White, Pro., 1,084. On the Pacific coast Representative Cooper is regarded as one of the best men in Congress. No other Congressman from the east of the Rockies has been so frequently as he the subject of glowingly eulogistic notices in the San Francisco newspapers. If he should change his residence to California he would have a first-class chance of being returned to Washington as a member of the United States Senate. The thing that has endeared Mr. Cooper to the Golden West is his attitude toward the Pacific railroads. In the Fifty-third Congress he defeated the Pacific railroad refunding bill by a single speech on the floor of the House, in spite of the efforts of Huntington and a number of other transportation kings, who were at work day and night, reënforced by a powerful lobby. While this achievement won for Mr. Cooper the gratitude of the masses in California, it lost for him, in the following Congress, his place on the Pacific Railroads committee, and he has ever since been in the bad books of the railroad lobby, who have never lost a chance to pound him. Personally Mr. Cooper is very popular in Washington, especially with the younger element. In 1898 his Democratic opponent for Congressional honors was Clinton Babbitt, while John C. Huffman ran against him on the Prohibition ticket, but Mr. Cooper was reëlected by a plurality of 8,440.

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J. E. JONES.

One of the young men of Wisconsin who has taken much interest in political affairs, and who possesses the confidence of the people wherever known, is J.E. Jones, editor of The Portage Daily Democrat, who is at the present time serving his second term as Mayor of Portage. Mr. Jones is an ardent Democrat, but always conservative and cool-headed. He was for several years a member of the Democratic State Central Committee, and has been Chairman of the Columbia County Democratic Committee for fifteen years. He was Postmaster at Portage during Cleveland's first term, and in 1893 was appointed by Gov. Peck a member of the State Board of Control, soon afterward becoming President of that body. In 1898 he was the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Second District, comprising the counties of Columbia, Dane, Dodge and Jefferson, but was defeated by a slight majority. He has been editor and proprietor of The Portage Democrat since 1881, a paper whose editorial utterances are always fearless and plain-spoken. Mr. Jones was born on a farm in the Town of Packwaukee, Marquette county, November 16, 1854, and has always been a resident of the State. He secured his education in the common schools, supplementing that with two years at the Oshkosh Normal, after which he taught six terms before entering the newspaper business. He was married January 25, 1882, to Miss Lena L. Converse, and they have three children, Edwin C., Carol and Marjorie.

GEORGE WILLIAM TAYLOR.

George William Taylor, the energetic Secretary of the Wisconsin State Board of Immigration, was born at Wenham, Massachusetts, March 31, 1855, the son of Rev. Jeremiah Taylor and his wife, Elizabeth, nee Pride. Rev. Jeremiah Taylor is the Eastern Secretary of the American Tract Society, whose office is in Boston. He is a lineal descendant on the maternal side of John Alden, of Mayflower fame. Elizabeth Pride is the daughter of William Pride, who was the first missionary sent to the Indians by the American and Foreign Christian Union. She is the granddaughter of Reu-

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ben Pride of Norwich, Connecticut, who marched to the relief of Boston at the time of the Lexington alarm, in 1775. He served an an officer in the Continental army until retired by Act of Congress in 1782. G. W. Taylor was educated in the common schools and the High schools of Middletown and Hartford, Conn. He was fitted to enter Yale College, but, preferring a business career, abandoned the idea of taking a college course, and engaged in the lumber business in Providence, R. I., in 1872. Four years thereafter he removed to Chicago, where he was in the same business for twelve years. In 1888 he came to Wisconsin, settling first in Oconto, and two years later taking up his residence in Marinette, where he now resides, and where he has been actively engaged in dealing in lumber, logs, pine and mineral lands. Mr. Taylor is a Republican in politics, and as such was elected to the Assembly of 1895 and reëlected to that of 1897. During his first session he served on the committees on railroads and lumber and mining. In the second session he was Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs and was again a member of the committee on railroads. He was an active and efficient legislator. He received his appointment to the Secretaryship of the State Board of Immigration from Gov. Scofield early in the present year, and has performed notably effective work attracting attention to the advantages of Northern Wisconsin and turning a tide of settlers in that direction. Mr. Taylor is a Knight of Pythias, a Mason, a member of the Wisconsin Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, and a member of the First Presbyterian church of Chicago. He was married in March, 1882, to Ella Francis Case of Chicago, and they have had two children—George Irving, who died at the age of eight months, and John Case, who is thirteen years old.

DAVID STUART ROSE.

David Stuart Rose, Mayor of Milwaukee, and ex-Judge of the County Court of Lafayette county, was born at Darlington, Wisconsin, June 30, 1856. His father, Jas. R. Rose, who was of Scotch descent, received his education at the Albany Academy, New York, practiced law in that city, and held the offices of city attorney, chief

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clerk of the Assembly and attorney for the State Canal Commissioners. He was an active Democrat, and a member of the celebrated Albany Regency. In 1852 he came to Wisconsin and settled at Darlington, where he formed a law partnership with Judge Cothren, which continued for some years, to the advantage of both. At Darlington he married Phoebe Anna Budlong, a young lady of German descent, who, with her parents, had removed to Wisconsin from Watertown, New York, after being graduated from the Normal school at Albany, and who was the mother of the subject of the present sketch. The latter received his education in the common schools and the Darlington high school, leaving which at the age of fourteen he served a three years' apprenticeship to the printers' trade. At the age of seventeen he began the study of law in the office of Cothren & Rose at Darlington; and, while pursuing his legal studies, he taught school for three consecutive winters, but, on June 30th, 1876, he was admitted to the bar, and immediately began practice, which he has continued uninterruptedly to the present time. The most important criminal cases in which he has been employed as counsel for the defense, were the following: State of Wisconsin *vs.* Meighan et al., tried in the circuit court of La Fayette county, March, 1892, for the murder of Anton Sieboldt by lynching. There were seven defendants, and all were acquitted upon the special plea of insanity; and the State of Wisconsin *vs.* Robert Luscombe, tried in the municipal court of Milwaukee county, July, 1895, for the murder of Emil Sanger. In civil practice he has been retained in many cases involving corporation and commercial law. He was attorney for Mayor P. J. Somers in the trial for impeachment brought by Garrett Dunck against that official; and for John Fitzer, who contested the seat of Edward Scofield in the State Senate in 1891. In all of these cases he was successful in behalf of his clients. In 1888 Mr. Rose gave up his practice in Darlington and removed to Milwaukee, where he soon built up a large and lucrative business in the law. He was elected Mayor of Darlington in 1883, and reëlected in 1884. In the same year he was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago In 1885 he was elected County Judge of La Fayette county, and served three years. Some two years after removing to Milwaukee,

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or in 1890, he was an independent candidate for City Attorney, but was defeated. In 1894 he was the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Fourth District, but that was a year of Republican ascendancy, and Judge Rose was defeated by Theobald Otjen. In 1898 Judge Rose was nominated by the Democrats for the office of Mayor of Milwaukee, his Republican opponent being William Geuder. At the preceding city election the Republicans had carried the city by 2,540 votes, but Judge Rose reversed the situation, and was elected by a plurality of 8,012. His energetic administration has attracted wide attention. He has been called into the national councils of his party, and his name, though without his consent, is among those mentioned for the Vice-Presidential nomination of 1900. Judge Rose is a member of the Knights of Pythias, the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, the Independent Order of Heptasophs, Fraternal Alliance, and the Bon Ami and Deutscher clubs. In September, 1887, he was married to Margaret E. Blakely.

WILLIAM GEORGE BRUCE.

There is a useful and honorable class of men conspicuous in politics who do not hold office. A well-known representative of this class is William George Bruce, who has labored zealously in the Democratic organization during the past fifteen years. Mr. Bruce's connection with party affairs began in 1885. He became a member of the Jackson Club, then flourishing on the South Side, and soon thereafter was made its President. Later he was elected President of the Jefferson Club, which position he held for four terms. In 1896 he was elected Chairman of the Democratic County Committee, and was reëlected in 1898. None of these positions was sought by him, and to each he was elected unanimously. In 1888 he was elected a member of the Milwaukee School Board, and was appointed for a second term three years later. In 1894 he permitted the use of his name as a candidate for State Senator in an overwhelmingly Republican district, and at a time when Democratic defeat was doubly certain. In 1896, when great doubt existed as to the position the Democracy in Wisconsin would take

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on the money question, he took a leading part in swinging the Jefferson Club to the support of the Chicago platform, thereby largely influencing the regular party organization. He was then, as he is now, an enthusiastic bimetallist. In the spring of 1898 he managed the muncipal campaign, and achieved the largest majority ever accorded any political party in Milwaukee. He introduced business methods in the affairs of the party, and brought about a thorough reorganization. Mr. Bruce is a close student of political economy and a strong adherent to Jeffersonian Democracy. He is an admirer and warm personal friend of Col. William J. Bryan, who, during his visit to Milwaukee in the spring of 1899, was a guest at Mr. Bruce's home. Mr. Bruce was born in 1856, in the city of Milwaukee, within the shadow of the present city hall. He entered the employ of the old Daily News in 1874. Six years later he entered the office of the Sentinel Company, holding a responsible position for eleven years. In 1891 he established the American School Board Journal, which he has since conducted with considerable success.

MILTON CUSHING PHILLIPS.

Milton Cushing Phillips, United States District Attorney for the Eastern District of Wisconsin, is of Welsh and Dutch descent. His father, Bradford Phillips, was a lumber manufacturer, owning a mill and considerable timber land on the Little Wolf river in Waupaca county at the time of his death. He came from Turner county, Maine, to Wisconsin, in 1849, when a young man and without means beyond a small amount saved from his own earnings. Upon the outbreak of the Civil War, all his patriotism was aroused; and, leaving a prosperous business, he enlisted, in 1861, in Company A, Eighth regiment, Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, and went out with that regiment as orderly sergeant of his company, which was commonly known as the "Eagle Company." He remained with this command until the second battle of Corinth, in October, 1862, when he fell on the field. He was a man of great native ability, both in business and as a public speaker, and had attained no little prominence in Eastern Wisconsin in both spheres

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before he entered the army. His wife, Marion Elizabeth Hulse, daughter of Lucian Hulse, was born in Pennsylvania, of Dutch ancestors, and came to Appleton, Wis., with her parents in childhood. She was well educated and a woman of strong character and high personal attainments. M. C. Phillips was born in Royalton, Wis., on the 25th of July, 1856. His primary education was received in common and select schools, and in 1872 he entered Oberlin College, where he was a student four years, when he left the institution to take a place as station agent on the Green Bay, Winona & St. Paul railroad. After some years spent as station agent and in manufacturing, he began the study of law in the office of Brown & Bump, in Waupaca, Wis., and was admitted to the bar in 1879. Immediately after admission he began the practice of his profession at Clintonville, Wis., where he remained five years, succeeding in building up a successful business. During his last year there he was in partnership with C. H. Forward. In 1884 he and his partner moved to Oshkosh, where a partnership was formed with George Gary, under the firm name of Gary, Phillips & Forward, which was dissolved in 1886. Mr. Phillips is now associated with E. R. Hicks, the firm being Phillips & Hicks. He has been connected with much of the important litigation in Oshkosh and vicinity, where he stands in the front rank of his profession. His special taste for insurance law has led him to devote much of his time to this branch of practice, and he now appears in much of the litigation of that character in the State. He is retained by a number of domestic as well as foreign companies. In April, 1897, he was appointed, by the President, United States District Attorney for the Eastern District of Wisconsin, and that position he now holds. Mr. Phillips has always been affiliated with the Republican party, and has taken an active part in politics. In 1894 he was chosen Chairman of the Republican committee of Winnebago county, one of the largest counties in the State, being again selected to the responsible post in 1896. The Republican plurality during the time of his management was the largest which the county ever gave. He is a Knight of Pythias, an Odd Fellow and a Mason of high standing, and a member of the Presbyterian church of Oshkosh. Mr. Phillips was married in 1878 to Marcia H. Eastman, youngest

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daughter of Rev. M. L. Eastman, of Royalton, Wisconsin. His family consists of five children—Bradford E., Ermine J., Philip, Lewis and Miriam H.

WILLIAM H. FROEHLICH.

No one in the history of Wisconsin has administered the office of Secretary of State with a stricter regard for business principles than William H. Froehlich. Mr. Froehlich was born at Jackson, Washington county, June 22, 1857. His parents, B. J. and Amelia Froehlich, were natives of Germany. After receiving an education in the public, private and parochial schools of Jackson, he spent three years as clerk in a mercantile business in Milwaukee. He then entered the Spencerian Business College, and, after completing his course in that institution, became assistant bookkeeper in the dry goods establishment of T. A. Chapman & Co., where he remained from 1878 to 1880. In June of the latter year he left Milwaukee to establish himself in the general merchandise business at Jackson, where he built up a prosperous trade. In 1892 he organized the Jackson Butter and Cheese Company, which established the first separator creamery in Washington county. He has been secretary and treasurer of the company since its organization. Mr. Froehlich became interested in politics at an early age, and has creditably performed the duties of a public officer in various capacities for many years. He was appointed Postmaster at Jackson in 1881, and held the office until 1893. He was elected Justice of the Peace in 1887, and a member of the School Board of Jackson in 1891. In 1893 he was elected Town Clerk, and was reelected without opposition till obliged to relinquish the position in order to assume the duties of Secretary of State, to which office he was elected in the fall of 1898. Washington county never sent a Republican to the Assembly till 1894, when it elected Mr. Froehlich, who received 2,310 votes against 2,200 for his Democratic opponent, Herman Horton. In 1896 Mr. Froehlich was again elected to the Assembly on the Republican ticket, receiving 2,845 votes against 2,463 for the Democratic candidate, Geo. W. Jones. His plurality for the office of Secretary of State was 54,912. One

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of the business-like innovations which Mr. Froehlich made as Secretary of State had to do with the strict construction of the law relating to premiums at County Fairs. With a view of encouraging agriculture, the State pays 40 per cent. of the premiums awarded at county fairs; but it had become the practice of the management in some counties to pay only 50 per cent. of the amounts advertised as premiums, though collecting from the State 40 per cent. of the whole advertised amount. Mr. Froehlich secured a written opinion on the subject from the Attorney General, and, acting in accordance therewith, refused to sign orders for more than 40 per cent. of the premium money actually paid. This is not in itself a great matter, but it is significant on account of the principle involved that the money of tax-payers should be guarded by officials acting for the people as carefully as an individual guards his own. The State Constitution vests the tax-levying power in the Legislature. A statute enacted many years ago provides that when the appropriations made by the Legislature in any year exceed the amount of the State tax levied by the Legislature for that year, the Secretary of State shall levy and apportion such additional tax as may be necessary to meet this excess. Can the Legislature thus shift the responsibility for performing its most solemn duty, the burdening of the people with taxation? It is a familiar principle that discretionary power lodged in the Legislature cannot be delegated by that body. Is the levying of taxes a discretionary power? Until Secretary Froehlich's term the question was never raised. Other Secretaries of State had made additions to the tax levy in conformity with the statutory provision, and their action was not challenged; but the amounts involved were comparatively small. Mr. Froehlich found himself confronted with legislative appropriations to the amount of $679,000 in excess of the expected revenues, the Legislature, aware of the deficiency, having adjourned without providing for taxation to meet it. He read the constitution and came to the conclusion that it was his duty to refuse to levy any tax beyond what had been authorized by the Legislature. Great pressure was brought to induce him to change his decision. There was talk of taking the matter to the Supreme Court, a course which he would have welcomed, but no one came

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forward to institute the suit. The probability seems to be that Secretary of State Froehlich has established an important precedent which will not be departed from by his successors.

CHARLES J. SMITH.

Charles J. Smith was born in Buffalo county, Wisconsin, January 22, 1858. His father, Melford P. Smith, was a farmer, who, starting in life without other resources than the ability to work, and the persistence that knows no defeat, is now the proprietor of one of the finest farms in Southern Wisconsin. He married Ada, daughter of David and Deborah Adams. It was as an infant of six months that Charles J. Smith moved into Grant county, where his parents are still living. Originally from Pennsylvania, they had settled in Wisconsin in 1852. Young Charles studied in the common schools of Grant county until he was nineteen. He then attended the State Normal School at Platteville, from which he graduated in 1881. Afterwards, for three years, he held the position of principal of the High School at Viroqua. Having taken up the study of law with Judge Wyman at Viroqua, he subsequently entered the Albany Law School, graduating from the latter institution in 1886. He was one of the four orators appointed to represent his class at commencement, and was chosen valedictorian. In July, 1886, at Madison, he was admitted to the bar, and without any delay settled in Viroqua. He practiced alone until 1895, when he formed a partnership with Ira S. Griffin, which still exists. Mr. Smith has been successful in a number of interesting and important cases. In his political affiliations he has always been a Republican and has "stumped" the State in the interest of Republican principles and candidates for many years. Elected District Attorney of Vernon county, he held that position from 1891 to 1897. From April, 1893, to April, 1895, he was Mayor of Viroqua, and was a member of the Board of Education for nine years. For five years he was City Attorney, and for four years City Clerk. He was a candidate for the Republican nomination for Congress in his district in 1898, and, although unsuccessful, developed strength that was a surprise to his opponents.

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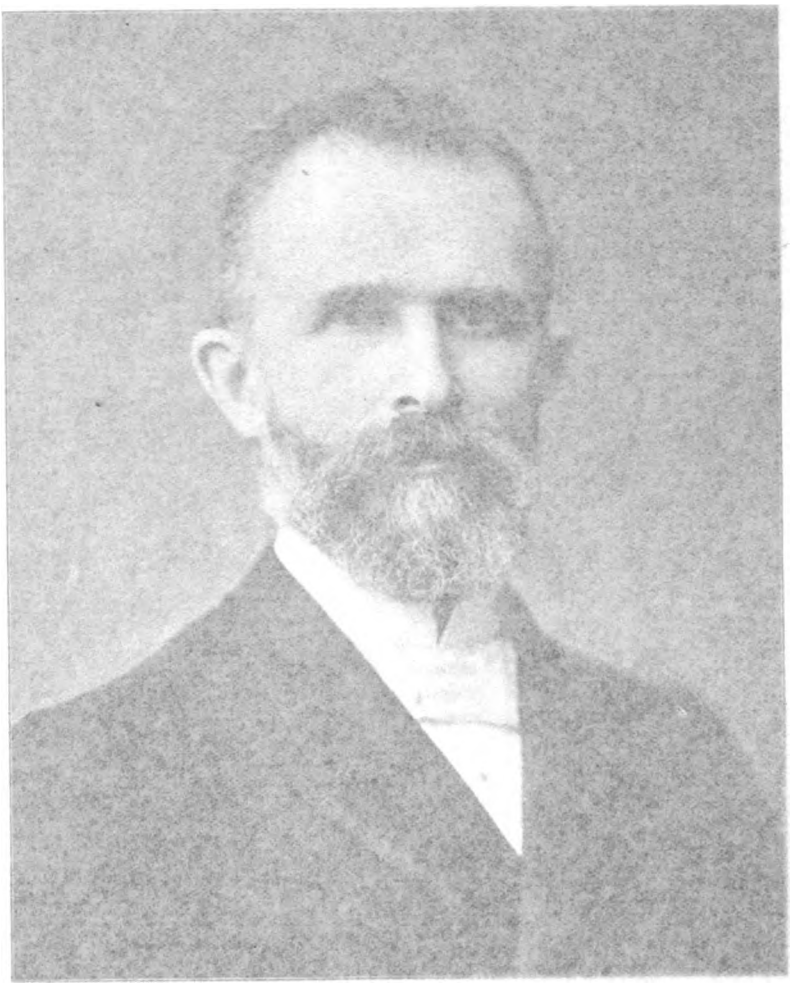

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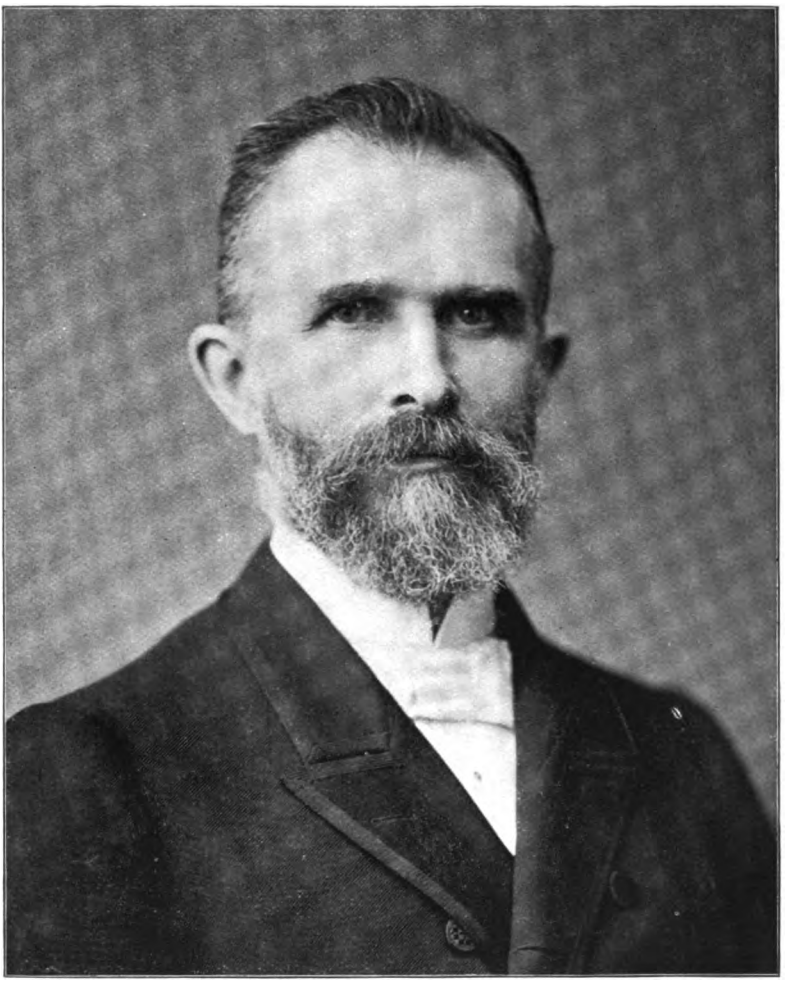

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He is a Knight Templar, a member of Sparta Commandery, No. 16. He was Master of La Belle Lodge, F. & A. M., at Viroqua, for two years, and he also belongs to the Order of Modern Woodmen. On September 4, 1889, he was married at Trempealeau, Wis., to Eda M. Blume, who, for five years, was a teacher in the Viroqua schools. They have one child. Notwithstanding the heavy demand upon his time made by his profession, Mr. Smith still finds opportunity to do considerable work on his farm of two hundred and forty acres, which has acquired a wide reputation for its blooded stock.

JAMES L. O'CONNOR.

James L. O'Connor is a native of Hartford, Washington county, Wisconsin, where he was born in 1858. After completing a course at the Hartford High School, he earned money by teaching and by working on the farm and performing day labor on the railroad. He entered the University of Wisconsin in 1876, and was graduated from the law department five years later, establishing himself in the practice of law at Madison. His reason for selecting that place was that he could not afford to buy a library, and that at Madison he could have access to the great law library of the State. In 1884 he was nominated by the Democrats of Dane county for the office of District Attorney, and was elected with the entire county ticket. When he came up again as the candidate of his party at the end of his first term, there were unmistakable signs of a turn in the political tide. Mr. O'Connor, however, made an active canvass, asking for judgment on his record, and, although the other candidates on the ticket with him were defeated by majorities ranging from 500 to 2,000, he was reëlected. In 1887 he formed a partnership with R. M. Bashford and T. A. Polleys, which continued till the fall of 1896. When George Peck was nominated for Governor in 1890, the Democrats placed the brilliant and popular young Madison lawyer on their ticket as their nominee for Attorney General. Like the rest of the ticket, he was elected, and was reëlected in 1892. He was a strong figure in the Peck administration. The youngest man who ever held the office, Mr. O'Connor was never-

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theless recognized as a man well versed in the law, indomitable in courage, and, in short, a foeman worthy of the steel of the most expert legal practitioners. Indeed, he had demonstrated on a smaller stage at an earlier date the notable qualities which were now called into play. Toward the end of 1889 he was married to Miss Anna L. Wood, of Madison, and, while absent from the city, without knowledge on his part of what was taking place, his friends nominated and elected him to the office of City Attorney. During his incumbency of that office, charges were preferred against several aldermen and the chief of the fire department for irregularities in connection with the purchase of hose. Convinced that the evidence warranted summary action, Mr. O'Connor brought impeachment proceedings. There was violent opposition to his course by the friends of the accused and the daily press. The defendants secured able counsel to take charge of their case, but the result of the trial fully justified Mr. O'Connor's course, as the chief of the fire department and two aldermen were impeached for bribery. It was during Mr. O'Connor's term as Attorney General that the noted treasury cases, involving nearly a million dollars, were tried. These cases were bitterly contested, but resulted favorably to the prosecution, not only in the lower court, but also in the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, where they were carried for final disposition. For several years Mr. O'Connor has been engaged in the successful practice of his profession at Milwaukee as a member of the firm of O'Connor, Hammel & Schmitz. He was Chairman of the last Democratic State Convention, and is a leading figure among the new group of men who have been in control of the Democratic organization in Wisconsin since 1896. Mr. O'Connor is the happy father of three sturdy sons—Arthur, Clarence and Jerome.

JAMES H. DAVIDSON.

James H. Davidson, who is serving his second term in Congress as Representative from the Sixth Wisconsin District, is a resident of Oshkosh. His father, James Davidson, was a Scotch Highlander, who came to this country at the age of 12 in 1824. His mother, whose maiden name was Ann Johnson, was a native

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of Rheinbeck on the Hudson, descended from Revolutionary stock. Congressman Davidson was born June 18, 1858, in Colchester, Delaware county, New York. His boyhood was divided between going to school and working at farming and lumbering. He passed the spring and fall terms of three years as a student in Walton Academy, working as janitor of the institution to pay for his tuition, and teaching school every winter to secure the wherewithal to pay for his board and clothes. The strain affected his health, forcing him to forego the honor of graduation. He began the study of law in the office of Fancher & Sewell, at Walton. In September, 1882, he came to Wisconsin, and was employed for one year as principal of the school at Princeton, Green Lake county, after which he returned to New York and entered the Albany Law School, from which he was graduated in 1884, president of his class. Coming back to Wisconsin, he worked for three years as bookkeeper and buyer for Chittenden & Morsey, produce dealers in Princeton, thereby earning the money wherewith to repay a voluntary loan from a friend who had advanced the sum necessary to defray the cost of his legal education. In 1887 he opened a law office in Princeton, where he soon commanded a profitable practice. In January, 1892, seeking a larger field, he removed to Oshkosh, becoming a member of the law firm of Thompson, Harshaw & Davidson. His partnership continued for three years, when he withdrew and entered upon practice alone. In May, 1895, he was appointed City Attorney for Oshkosh for a term of two years. January 1st, 1896, he formed a partnership with R. W. Wilde, formerly a student of the law department of the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, under the firm name of Davidson & Wilde, which partnership still continues. Mr. Davidson's political record is that of a conscientious Republican, thoroughly believing in the principles of the party, and using all proper means for securing its ascendency. He was elected District Attorney of Green Lake county in 1888; and, in 1890, he was made Chairman of the Committee of the Sixth Congressional District of Wisconsin, which position he held continuously for six years. In the fall of 1896 he was nominated by the Republican Congressional Convention for the Sixth District for Congress, and was elected by a very large majority, re-

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ceiving 26,649 votes against 18,944 for W. F. Gruenewald, Democrat, and 626 for James S. Thompson, Prohibitionist. In 1898 he was reëlected, with a plurality of 3,427 votes, his opponents being Frank C. Stewart, Democrat, and William H. Clark, Prohibitionist. His dignified and creditable record in the National Legislature commands the approval of his constituents. Mr. Davidson is a member of Oshkosh Lodge, No. 27, F. & A. M.; Oshkosh Lodge, No. 192, B. P. O. E., and Oshkosh Lodge, No. 25, K. P. He was married October 8, 1889, to Niva T. Wilde, daughter of F. A. Wilde, now of Milwaukee. They have two sons, Kenneth Wilde and James Ferdinand.

TIMOTHY E. RYAN.

In 1898, while the Republicans in the Wisconsin Legislature were split up into warring camps in a struggle over the United States Senatorship, the members of the Democratic minority in that body were a unit, and cast their votes for Timothy E. Ryan. Mr. Ryan, who is a prominent member of the bar of Waukesha, is the son of Jeremiah and Johanna Cronin Ryan, who came to this country from the county of Tipperary, Ireland, in 1849, settling first in Troy, New York, and afterwards removing to the town of Greenwich, Washington county, in the same State, where Mr. Ryan, Sr., was engaged as foreman for R. W. Loeber in an extensive lime business for nearly a quarter of a century. In the year 1872 he came to Waukesha county, and located on what was known as the Dorothy farm, in the town of Pewaukee, where he died in December, 1887. His widow is still living on the homestead. T. E. Ryan was born in the town of Greenwich, Washington county, New York, in 1859. He attended the public schools in Washington county, New York, the Greenwich Academy, in the same State, and, coming to Wisconsin, with his parents, in 1872, he also attended the Pewaukee High School. After that he taught country schools for six winters, and attended a business college in Milwaukee for one year. He then began the study of law in the office of Van Dyke & Van Dyke in Milwaukee, and continued there for a year, when he entered the law department of the Uni-

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[illegible] against 18[illegible], for W. F. [illegible] James S. Thompson, [illegible] 3,427 votes, [illegible] Stewart, Democrat, and Warham H. Clark, Prohibitionist. He [illegible] on the record in the National Legislature [illegible] the approval of his constituents. Mr. Doyle's name is a member of Fish Lake Lodge No. 27, F. & A. M., Oshkosh Lodge No. 102, K. P., C. K. and Oshkosh Lodge No. 23, I. O. P. He was married October 8, 188[illegible], to Nina L. Wilber, daughter of L. A. White, now of Milwaukee. They have two sons, Kenneth Will and James Ferdinand.

TIMOTHY J. RYAN.

In 1868, while the Republicans in the Wisconsin Legislature were split up into warring camps in a struggle over the United States Senatorship, the members of the Democratic minority in that body were united, and cast their votes for Timothy J. Ryan. Mr. Ryan, who is a prominent member of the bar of Waukesha, was the son of Jeremiah and Joanna Crouin Ryan, who came to this country from the county of Tipperary, Ireland, in 18[illegible], settling first in Troy, New York, and afterwards removing to the town of Greenwich, Washington county, in the same State, where Mr. Ryan, Sr., was engaged as foreman for R. W. Lederman, an extensive flour business for nearly a quarter of a century. In the year 1872 he came to Waukesha county, and located on what was known as the Dorsey farm, in the town of Pewaukee, where he died in December, 1887. His widow is still living on the homestead. T. J. Ryan was born in the town of Greenwich, Washington county, New York, in 1850. He attended the public schools in Washington county, New York, the Greenwich Academy, in the same State, and, coming to Wisconsin, with his parents, in 1872, he also attended the Pewaukee High School. After that he taught country schools for six winters, and attended a business college in Milwaukee for one year. He then began the study of law in the office of Van Dyke & Van Dyke in Milwaukee, and completed it in one year, when he entered the law department of the Uni-

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versity of Wisconsin, where, after two years and a half, he graduated in the Class of 1885. After graduation he formed a partnership with Judge P. H. Carney, of Waukesha, which continued until 1889, when it was dissolved, and he entered into another with E. Merton, of Burlington, under the firm name of Ryan & Merton, with office in Waukesha, and this partnership still continues. Mr. Ryan has been engaged in many important cases since the formation of this last-named partnership, the most important, perhaps, being the Waukesha pipe line suits. Mr. Ryan was appointed postmaster of Waukesha by President Cleveland January 10th, 1895, and this position he held until the change of administration. In politics he has always affiliated with the Democratic party. He was the nominee of that party in 1888 for Attorney General of the State, and, in 1898, was prominently mentioned for the Democratic nomination for Governor. He has in many ways been prominent and useful in councils and campaigns of his party. He is a member of the Catholic church, the Catholic Knights of Wisconsin and the Catholic Order of Foresters. Mr. Ryan was married on the 5th of October, 1887, to Mary E. Bannon, of Waukesha, and they have three children living—Margaret, Frances and Agnes Josephine.

JULIUS E. ROEHR.

State Senator Julius E. Roehr is the son of a native of Germany, Edward Roehr, who was connected with the revolution of 1848, and who, upon the failure of that struggle for freedom, fled to the United States in the disguise of a sailor, landing in New York destitute of money or means of any kind, and without friends. Determined to make his way, the refugee began carrying and selling newspapers, then opened a bookstore, and finally founded a newspaper in Brooklyn, N. Y., which he called "The Brooklyn Freie Presse," and which is now published by one of his sons, Henry, and is the only German daily in that city. Mr. Roehr retired from the business in 1872, in good financial circumstances. Edward Roehr, the grandfather of the subject of this sketch, was a soldier in the German army, and was among the first who were

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awarded the iron cross. Julius E. Roehr was born in Brooklyn, New York, March 6th, 1860, where he attended the public schools for several years. Coming to Milwaukee in 1872, he resumed his studies in the public schools here, continuing them for a year or more, when he went to work for the real estate firm of Becher & Milbrath, at four dollars a week. He remained in this position until 1879, when he entered the law department of the University of Wisconsin, from which he was graduated in 1881. He then began the practice of law with Leander Wyman, at the corner of Reed and Lake streets, Milwaukee; and this partnership was continued for five years, until Mr. Wyman's death. Since then Mr. Roehr has conducted the business alone, and has met with very flattering success. He has been engaged in some important cases, and has a large practice in commercial and real estate law. He was appointed Court Commissioner by Judge D. H. Johnson, in 1888, and reappointed for another term of six years in 1894. Mr. Roehr has been a Republican since he reached the age of maturity, and cast his first vote for James A. Garfield for President. He was a candidate for member of the Assembly in 1890, and in 1892 was nominated for Judge of the Superior Court, but in both cases failed of an election, owing to the strong drift toward the Democracy in those years. He has been a delegate to many State and county conventions, was Chairman of the Congressional Convention in the Fourth District of the State in August, 1896, delegate to the National Republican Convention at St. Louis in 1896 from the Fourth Congressional District, and zealously supported McKinley for President, both in the ranks and on the stump. In November, 1896, he was elected State Senator in the Eighth District over Michael Kruszka, by a plurality of 1,018. Mr. Roehr is a member of the Iroquois Club, member of the South Side Gymnastic Association, the Knights of Pythias, the Deutscher Club, the National Union, the Milwaukee Musical Society, the South Side Educational Society and of several minor associations. He was married May 28th, 1882, to Miss Emma Krueger. They have three children.

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PLINY NORCROSS.

Among the citizens of Wisconsin who have done much to contribute to her prosperity is Captain Pliny Norcross of Janesville. He was born November 16, 1838, at Templeton, Worcester county, Massachusetts, and is a descendant of Jeremiah Norcross, one of the four brothers who came from England in 1636 and settled in Boston. His father was a farmer, and removed from Massachusetts to La Grange, Walworth county, Wisconsin, in 1852. To the age of 15 Pliny remained on his father's farm. He attended the common school, and also studied—one term each—at the Milton and Albion Academies. In the fall of 1858 he entered Milton Academy, and spent two years there. In 1860 he began a course of study at the Wisconsin State University, continuing through the ensuing winter. Then came President Lincoln's call for troops. Pliny Norcross was the first from the University to enlist in response to that call. He was also the first from Rock county. The organization which he joined was the Governor's Guards. It was assigned to the First Wisconsin Infantry, and was known as Co. K, commanded by Captain, afterward General, Lucius Fairchild. At the request of his fellow-students, young Norcross was appointed Corporal. The only battle in which he participated was that of Falling Waters, the first in which Wisconsin troops were engaged. When his term of enlistment had expired, Corporal Norcross returned to his studies, but the bugle of war sounded so shrilly in his ears that he proceeded to Milton, where he recruited and organized what became Co. K, of the Thirteenth Regiment, Wisconsin Infantry. He was unanimously elected Captain. The regiment went into camp at Janesville, and went to the front in January, 1862, continuing in active service till the close of the war. Captain Norcross was frequently detailed for special service. In the winter of 1863-4 he was in command of a special detachment in charge of ordnance stores at Nashville, Tennessee, occupying the office of the Mayor, who had found it advisable to secure quarters outside of the Union lines. When not on detail duty, Captain Norcross was with his company until the expiration of his term of service, when he returned home. For seventeen years Captain Norcross was

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engaged in the practice of the law, to which he brought natural talent that ensured his success from the start. He was admitted to the bar in February, 1866. In 1883 he retired from practice to engage in industrial enterprises. His first venture in this direction was the organization of the International Tile Company, at Brooklyn, New York, in the spring of that year. In August of the same year he resigned the presidency of the company and purchased a piece of land in Janesville, Wisconsin, including the site of the present Phoebus Block, which was then occupied by the Farmer's Mills, and the water power belonging thereto. He erected the Norcross Block, and the next year removed the Farmer's Mills to another site, and built the Phoebus Block. A year later he established the electric light plant, furnishing light to the city streets and numerous private buildings. This plant, as well as the Farmer's Mills, a shoe factory, two printing offices, a laundry, and other small establishments, were operated by the water power. In the summer of 1887 Captain Norcross erected the Library Building, and the next year engaged in the manufacture of ladies' fine shoes, in partnership with Alexander Richardson, under the firm name of Richardson & Norcross. He was one of the incorporators of the Merchants' and Mechanics' Savings Bank, the Badger State Works, the Janesville Pickle Factory, the Janesville Machine Company, the Janesville Cotton Manufacturing Company, and the Basket Factory. In 1892 he bought the water powers and mills at Fulton and Indian Ford, a few miles above Janesville, and used them in extending his operations for supplying electric power. Captain Norcross has always been a Republican, and has often been called by his fellow-citizens to serve in honorable and responsible positions. On the organization of the Janesville Business Men's Association he was made one of its presidents. He also served as trustee of the Institute for the Blind for several years, and served on Governor Smith's staff as aide-de-camp. In the fall of 1866, at the age of 27, he was elected to represent the Janesville district in the State Legislature, and as Chairman of the Committee on State Affairs, in that body, he proved an active and useful member. In 1885 he was again elected to the Legislature and served as Chairman of the

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Judiciary Committee. He was District Attorney for Rock county from 1871 to 1875, two terms, and declined a third candidacy. In 1875-6 he was City Attorney of Janesville, and during the two succeeding years he was Mayor. While incumbent of public offices he has used for the benefit of his constituents the great talents which have won for him so much success in the conduct of his private affairs. He married, on January 4, 1865, Miss Phoebe Poole, a daughter of John H. and Elizabeth Poole, of Turtle, Rock county, Wisconsin, who had been his schoolmate at Milton Academy. They have four children—Fred Franklin, John Vanderpool, Elizabeth Leavitt and Edward Powers.

WILLIAM G. WHEELER.

William G. Wheeler is a native of Wisconsin, and has always resided in Rock county, where he was born in the Town of La Prairie, November 11, 1861. He was educated in the district and high schools of the county, graduating from the Janesville High School April 22, 1881. In December of that year he entered the law office of Winans & Fethers as a student, and read law until August, 1884, when he was admitted to the bar. He was Deputy Clerk of the Circuit Court of Janesville from September 24, 1884, to June 6, 1885, and Clerk of the Circuit Court from the latter date to January, 1887, since which time he has practiced law in Janesville. In January, 1891, he was elected District Attorney of Rock county, and held the office until January, 1895. In 1896 the Republicans of the First District of Rock county nominated him for the Assembly, and he was elected over the Democratic candidate, who was John Winans. His record in the Legislature made him the logical candidate in the election of 1898, and he was again chosen to represent the district. In 1897 he had been given a place on the Judiciary Committee of the Assembly, and in 1899 he was made its Chairman. Mr. Wheeler is a man of good judgment and conspicuous ability, whose political career, auspiciously begun, bespeaks a brilliant future.

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EDWARD SAUERHERING.

Edward Sauerhering, who was member of Congress from the Second District for the four years ending March 4, 1899, went to the national capital in 1895, with the reputation of having routed the forces of Democracy in its most rock-ribbed stronghold in the Badger State. When he received the nomination nobody believed that any Republican could be elected to Congress in the Second District. But he hitched up a team of horses and made a personal canvass among the honest German farmers, chatting with their families and incidentally descanting upon the ruinous consequences to Dodge county agriculture which had inevitably resulted from the Democratic free trade policy applied to wool and barley. Nearly every young voter in the district ranged himself under the Sauerhering banner, and many an old fellow who had never before cast any but a Democratic ballot, changed his mind and exerted his right of suffrage to place the keen-witted young candidate of the Republicans where he could help to re-enact the protective tariff. Mr. Sauerhering was born at Mayville, Dodge county, on the 24th of June, 1864, and educated in the Mayville public schools. He went from the High School to the Chicago College of Pharmacy, whence he graduated in 1885, and from that time till his election followed his father's profession as an apothecary. In 1892 he was chosen Chairman of the Republican County Committee, and also nominated for the Assembly. He organized the county so thoroughly that, though not elected himself, he secured the election of a Republican County Judge, the first Republican county official ever elected in Dodge county. When his first term in Congress was drawing to a close, his record in that body and his extraordinary personal popularity made him a logical candidate for a second term, though the honor was one which he did not especially desire. His work for the filled cheese bill was enthusiastically commended by the farmers. His plurality in 1896 was 5,506. In 1898 he positively declined to be a candidate for a third term, and returned to take charge of his large and prosperous drug business at Mayville. Mr. Sauerhering is a member of the Turn Verein Eintracht, at Mayville, of which he was President from 1889 to

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1896. He is also a member of the Masonic order. He was married in 1889 to Miss Eugenia Langenbach, of Mayville. They have two children.

A. M. JONES.

The clever management by which the unwieldy Republican State Convention of 1898, the largest delegate assemblage that ever convened in Wisconsin, was brought into easy working order, was the first exhibition that Badger State Republicans had an opportunity to witness of the executive ability of a man who had years before been famous throughout the West under the familiar nickname of "Long" Jones. Col. Jones had for years been the confidential political co-worker of Senator John A. Logan and other Illinois Republicans of national celebrity, and had been a recognized power in the politics of that State. He knew Abraham Lincoln and President Grant before the Civil War. Few men living have borne a more active part in the practical politics of the past forty years than he. Alfred Miles Jones, though in many respects a typical Western man, is a native of New England. He was born at New Durham, New Hampshire, February 5, 1837, coming West with his parents in childhood, and received his education in the H. P. Kimball Institute, at Rockford, Illinois. During his long residence in that State he lived first at Hebron, McHenry county, and afterward at Warren, Jo Daviess county. He was a member of the lower house of the Illinois Legislature in 1872, 1873 and 1874; a member of the Board of Commissioners of the Joliet penitentiary, and for three years and six months its Secretary; collector of internal revenue of the Northern District of Illinois, and, under President Garfield, United States Marshal of the Northern District of Illinois. For twelve years he was Chairman of the Illinois Republican State Central Committee. He came to Wisconsin in 1894, and settled in the City of Waukesha, where he has large business interests. In 1898 he was the Republican candidate for the State Senate in the Thirty-third District, comprising Washington and Waukesha counties, and was elected,

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receiving 6,060 votes, against 5,452 for Thomas McCarty, Democrat, and 240 for Thomas Dimond, Prohibitionist. Col. Jones was one of the leaders in the Senate, and his successful management of the campaign that resulted in the election of J. V. Quarles for United States Senator will be remembered as one of the most striking features of the session of 1899.

A. C. DODGE.

A. Clarke Dodge was born in the Town of Barre, Washington county, Vermont, in November, 1834, his parents being Joseph and Laurinda Thompson Dodge. He was educated in the common schools and in Barre Academy, and came to Wisconsin in 1855, settling in Monroe, Green county, where he has since been established as a dealer in wood and coal. Mr. Dodge has always been a Republican, and has taken an active part in public affairs. He was five times Chairman of the Board of Supervisors of Green county. In 1884 he was a delegate to the National Republican Convention. In 1888 he was Republican Presidential elector for the Third Wisconsin Congressional District. He was for twenty-five years a member of the Monroe Board of Education, and during most of that time its Chairman. In 1898 the Republicans of Green county nominated Mr. Dodge to represent their district in the State Assembly, and he was elected over Ira M. J. Chryst, Democrat; Albert A. Ten Eyck, Populist, and John Legler, Prohibitionist. In the Assembly he served on the Committees on Cities and Legislative Expenditures. Mr. Dodge has two sons and one daughter—Charles S. Dodge, Flora E. Skinner and Lewis Dodge. The last-named was a member of Company H, First Regiment, Wisconsin Volunteers, during the war with Spain.

T. J. CUNNINGHAM.

Thomas Jefferson Cunningham was born in Brooklyn, New York, March 17, 1852. He received a common school education at New Haven, Connecticut, and came to Wisconsin in 1869, settling at Stoughton, Dane county, whence he removed in 1875

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to Chippewa Falls, where he now resides. Mr. Cunningham learned the printer's trade in his youth and rose to the rank of editor and publisher. For many years he has been proprietor and editor of the Chippewa Falls Independent, one of the most influential Democratic daily newspapers in the State. He was Clerk in the office of Secretary of State at Madison from January, 1873, to October, 1875; Mayor of Chippewa Falls from April, 1885, to May, 1886; delegate from the Ninth Congressional District to the National Democratic Convention at Cincinnati in 1880, and member of the State Assembly from Chippewa in 1887. In 1890, the year when the Democrats rode into power on the tidal wave of the Bennett Law excitement, Mr. Cunningham was their candidate for Secretary of State, and was elected by a plurality of 35,729 over E. D. Coe, the candidate of the Republicans. He was reëlected in 1892, and, on the return of the Republicans to power in 1895, retired from the office with an enviable reputation for efficiency and popularity. He is at present Mayor of Chippewa Falls.

MARTIN PATTISON.

The father of Martin Pattison was Simeon Thayer Pattison, a native of New York, descended from the same family as Maj. Simeon Thayer, who was a distinguished officer of the Revolutionary War, and a distant relative of ex-Governor Pattison of Pennsylvania. His mother, Emmarilla Pattison, is a descendant of a sister of Benjamin Franklin. Mr. Pattison was born January 17th, 1841, in Niagara county, Ontario, to which his parents had moved from New York. The family in 1854 moved to Salinac county, Michigan, and here the boy acquired the rudiments of an education in the common school, but at an early age engaged in lumbering as a common laborer, gradually advancing to the positions of foreman and superintendent, and eventually engaging in the business on his own account, in which he was very successful. He was early recognized as a man of ability, of great force of character, and one fitted for public station. When but a little past his majority he was elected member of the School Board

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of his town, and successfully reëlected until he had held the office for six years. He was also twice elected to the lower house of the Michigan Legislature, and in these positions he faithfully and honorably served his constituents. In 1879 he came to Wisconsin, settled in Superior, and engaged in lumbering. In the winter of 1879-80 he got out square timber for the English market. The following winter he took out saw logs, and during the following summer explored for pine lands. Selling out his pine in 1882, he turned his attention to exploring for iron ore. In June, 1882, he, in company with several others, went to the Vermilion iron range in Northern Minnesota, on foot, carrying provisions and camp outfit to Vermilion Lake, one hundred miles north of Duluth, proceeding thence in canoes to their destination. In the following spring, in partnership with his brother, William H. Pattison, he further explored the range, and located the land embracing the famous Chandler and Pioneer iron mines. They continued their explorations during the two following years, and located several thousand acres of government land on the same range, and still retain their interest therein. Mr. Pattison's first vote was cast for the reëlection of Abraham Lincoln, and he has always been a Republican. In 1884 he was elected Sheriff of Douglas county, Wisconsin, and served two years. In 1890 he was elected Mayor of Superior, and reëlected in 1891 and 1896. He was a member of the Republican State Central Committee during the years 1892 and 1893, and was a member of the Executive Committee of that body. On account of his well-known sympathy with the laboring classes, he was nominated for Lieutenant-Governor by the Labor Party Convention which met in Milwaukee in 1892; but he declined the nomination for the reason that his party affiliations were entirely Republican. In April, 1896, he was, for the third time, elected Mayor of Superior. On taking his seat, he found the city finances in bad condition; the large property owners had, for several years, refused to pay their taxes, and had begun suits to set them aside. The Mayor at once began negotiations for the settlement of these suits, and arrangements were made whereby the city gets all of her general taxes, and extends the payment of the

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special taxes for a term of ten years, which is regarded as a favorable termination of the financial troubles. Mr. Pattison is a Knight Templar, and member of Wisconsin Consistory, a Knight of Pythias, a Patriarch Militant of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, with the rank of Captain on the General's staff. He is a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and for the past three years senior warden. In 1879 he was married to Grace E. Frink, at Marquette, Michigan. They have had eight children, including two pairs of twins, but Verna M. and Leda I., one of each pair, are dead. The living children are Martha Grace, Byron M., Ethel M., Alice Irene, Myrna E. and Louis N. Mr. Pattison is a public-spirited, generous man, kind to all in need, and in every way a most worthy citizen. His fine home, overlooking Superior bay, is furnished with taste and contains many treasures of art.

JOHN JOHNSTON.

John Johnston was born on the farm of Overton, Auchnagatt, twenty-four miles north of the city of Aberdeen, Scotland. His "forebears" had been on that farm for a long time, as he has in his possession a lease dated 1749, signed by his great-great-grandfather, John Johnston, and Hugh Forbes. His mother was Margaret Mitchell, sister of the late Alexander Mitchell of Milwaukee. He was educated until twelve years old at the district school of Savoch, after which he went to the Grammar School of Aberdeen, and, at the age of fifteen, he entered the University of Aberdeen, having gained a scholarship at a public competition in Latin and Greek, open to all comers. At the age of nineteen he took the degree of Master of Arts, and in 1856 he received an invitation from his uncle, Alexander Mitchell, to come to America; and, accepting it, he arrived in Milwaukee on the 10th of March, 1856, entering Mr. Mitchell's employ at once, as general accountant of the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company Bank. Here he thoroughly learned every department of the banking business; and, after ten years, when yet a young man of thirty, he was made assistant cashier of the bank, holding

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that position, to the very general satisfaction of its many customers, until 1887, when he became cashier. The duties of this office he discharged with signal ability and fidelity until 1893, when he retired from the bank, having transferred his interest therein to the Hon. John L. Mitchell. During his long service in the bank he had, by carefully husbanding his resources and by legitimate investments, gained a handsome fortune. Always public-spirited, and a generous giver to worthy objects, he came to be regarded as one of the most valuable of Milwaukee's citizens, and one whose services were often sought for public positions. Upon his retirement from the bank at the beginning of the year 1893, he devoted his time and attention to his private interests, with fair prospects of years of comfort and release from the harassing cares of a large business. But the panic of that year involved the historic bank with which he had for so many years been associated; and, though he had long before severed all business connection with it, he was, by reason of a law of the State holding stockholders in any corporation liable for debts contracted within six months after the filing of the memorandum of the transfer of stock, held liable for all its debts, and his entire fortune was involved in the catastrophe. Nothing daunted, however, he bent himself, with his well-known energy and courage, to the work of the reorganization of the bank, the revival of its business and the reconstruction of his own shattered fortune. He succeeded. Mr. Johnston was unanimously chosen cashier of the reorganized bank, and it reopened its doors in 1894. In public estimation he stands to-day head and shoulders above even what he was before the calamity. The public positions of honor and trust which Mr. Johnston has held are numerous, varied in their duties, and of great importance. He was member of the Board of Aldermen for two years from 1867, and from 1874 to 1876, a trustee of the Public Library from 1878 to 1881, a Commissioner of the Public Debt from 1887 to 1893, for twenty years a trustee and treasurer of Milwaukee College, and is now President of the Board of Trustees, has served as director and Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce and two terms as President, has been a Regent of the University of Wisconsin and

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President of the Board, President of the State Historical Society, member of the City Board of School Commissioners, trustee of Carroll College, Waukesha, and has been more or less actively identified with numerous business enterprises. He has been an officer or active member of several social and recreation clubs, has a Scotchman's love for the national game of curling, and has won the championship in this game for the Milwaukee club. When the Greenback agitation was in force he delivered a speech before the workingmen of Bay View, of which one hundred thousand copies were circulated by the Honest Money League of Wisconsin. He was one of those who discovered and developed the great deposits of cement rock in the suburbs of Milwaukee, and has been a director and treasurer of the Milwaukee Cement Company since its organization in 1875. Among his most benevolent deeds was the giving to Milwaukee of the lot for the Emergency Hospital, and $5,000 toward the endowment of Milwaukee College. In politics he was formerly a Republican, but found himself at variance with the party on the policy of reconstruction of the Southern States at the close of the War of the Rebellion. Since leaving the Republican party he has acted with the Democracy, and taken part in many of its conventions and campaigns. In the Presidential campaign of 1896 he refused to follow the Silver Democracy, but at once came boldly out for the gold standard. He has been a somewhat prolific writer, and has made many public addresses which have been received with favor. He wrote the article on Milwaukee for the Encyclopedia Britannica, that on Scotland for Salor's Encyclopedia, and that on curling in Johnson's Encyclopedia. Mr. Johnston was one of the founders of Calvary Presbyterian Church, Milwaukee, of which he has been a trustee since its formation in 1869, and was for years one of its elders. He was married, in 1861, to Miss Margaret Hunter of Scotland, who died in 1878. Three years later he married Miss Ethlinda Marie Thorsen, daughter of John Thorsen of Milwaukee. They have two children, a daughter and a son. Of the children of the first wife but one is living.

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SAMUEL W. REESE.

Samuel W. Reese was born in the parish of Llaubrynmair, in the county of Montgomery, North Wales, November 29, 1830. After attending the Old Chapel Free School for several years, he was sent to the city of Shrewsbury, England, where he served three years with a merchant, to learn the trade. When still quite young he came to the United States, residing for some time in Cincinnati, Ohio, and then coming to Wisconsin, settling in the spring of 1852 at Dodgeville, Iowa county, where he has resided ever since. After working for four years as a clerk in the general store of B. F. Thomas, Mr. Reese opened a general store of his own, selling out at the end of a year and beginning the study of law. In 1858 he was admitted to the bar and began a legal practice which he has conducted since that time with distinguished success. In 1871 he established the Dodgeville Bank, which, under his conservative management, has been and is a flourishing institution. Mr. Reese has been a Republican since the organization of the party, having voted for every Republican candidate for the Presidency, every Republican Congressman nominated in his district, and every Republican State officer. He has been Chairman of the town several times and Mayor of the city. In 1876 he was elected District Attorney of Iowa county. In 1892 he was one of the Republican electors on the Presidential ticket. He is at the present time the Chairman of the Iowa County Republican Central Committee. In June, 1856, Mr. Reese was married to Miss Alice L. Ennor, by whom he had four children, Emma, William, Eddie and John. She died in October, 1881. In August, 1886, he married Miss Jennie A. Owens, of Dodgeville.

GEORGE W. RYLAND.

During the last term of Gov. Rusk and during the administration of Gov. Hoard—that is, in the four years from 1886 to 1890—the Lieutenant-Governor of Wisconsin was George W. Ryland. Mr. Ryland was born in Shelbysport, Alleghany county, Maryland, December 19, 1827, and received his education in the common schools, coming to Wisconsin in 1853 and settling

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at Lancaster, Grant county, where he has since lived. His first work here was done in the hay field, for Gov. Dewey. The same season he became a clerk in a store, where he was employed for fourteen months. In the fall of 1854, with Simon E. and John P. Lewis for partners, he established the mercantile firm of G. W. Ryland & Co., which continued in business till the partnership was dissolved in May, 1860. Mr. Ryland then bought the grocery business of George Cox, and in September of that year J. C. Holloway became associated with him, the business being expanded to take in general merchandise, including dry goods. In the fall of 1860 the firm began to buy and sell exchange. For this purpose they kept an account with a New York house. They purchased drafts on New York and drafts on London. Exchange offers of the latter class were not infrequent. A number of English families had settled within trading reach of Lancaster, and remittances came to them from the old country in the shape of drafts on New York or London. The recipients, of course, wanted them converted into currency or wanted trade for them. They were practically gold certificates and were at a premium, especially later as the war time advanced. This business in exchange was conducted by the firm until 1865. That year they put up a sign across the west end of their building, inscribed "Ryland & Holloway, Bankers." In 1869 the firm sold out their mercantile business, and continued in partnership as bankers until 1874, when Mr. Ryland bought out Mr. Holloway and became sole owner of the bank, continuing alone till October, 1880, when he admitted his bookkeeper, Richard Meyer, and the latter's son, Richard Meyer, Jr., as partners, the firm being G. W. Ryland & Co. In May, 1887, Mr. Ryland retired, selling his interest to his partners. In October, 1888, with others, he established the State Bank of Grant County, of which he was president, from which he resigned and withdrew April 1, 1899, with the laudable object of "crowning a life of labor with an age of ease." Mr. Ryland has held a number of public offices with credit to himself and satisfaction to the community. He was postmaster of Lancaster under President Pierce, and again under Presidents Lincoln and Johnson. During the Civil War

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he held a recruiting commission, and enlisted over 100 men. He has at different times held several minor offices, such as School Clerk, President of the Village Board and Treasurer of the village. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia in 1872, and was State Senator for the years 1880-81 and 1882-83. He was chairman of the Town Board for eighteen years, and chairman of the County Board for fifteen years. In his first canvass for the Lieutenant-Governorship, in 1886, his Democratic competitor was John D. Putnam, and Mr. Ryland's plurality was 14,639. In 1888, when his Democratic opponent was Andrew Kull, Mr. Ryland's plurality was 21,753. Mr. Ryland joined the Independent Order of Odd Fellows in 1852. He was a charter member of Lodge No. 86, of which he has been Treasurer for twenty-five years.

WILLIAM P. LYON.

A long and useful career has been that of William P. Lyon, ex-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, now President of the State Board of Control. He was born at Chatham, Columbia county, New York, October 28, 1824, where he attended the common schools until eleven years of age, then becoming clerk in a small store. Later he attended select schools for several terms, and at the age of fifteen taught in a district school, after which for three years he was a clerk in a store at Albany. In 1841, with his father's family, he came to Wisconsin, settling in what is now the Town of Lyons, Walworth county. In 1844 he entered upon the study of law in the office of George Gale, at Elkhorn. He also read law in the office of Hon. C. M. Baker. In 1846 he was admitted to the bar and entered upon practice, serving also as Justice of the Peace. In 1850 he removed to Burlington, where he practiced law until 1855, when he established himself at Racine. He was District Attorney of Racine county for two terms. In 1859 and 1860 he was elected to the State Assembly, on each occasion being chosen Speaker. In September, 1861, he entered the military service as Captain of Company K, Eighth Regiment, Wisconsin Infantry Volunteers. Aug-

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Ellis B. Usher

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ust 5, 1862, he was commissioned Colonel of the Thirteenth Regiment, Wisconsin Infantry Volunteers, in which capacity he served till the close of the Civil War. While still in the military service he was elected Judge of the First Judicial Circuit, and entered upon the duties of that office in January, 1866. He served on this Circuit until January, 1871, when Gov. Fairchild appointed him to the seat on the Supreme bench made vacant by the death of Byron Paine. At the election in the following spring he was chosen by the people to hold the office during the unexpired term, and was afterward, in 1877 and 1883, twice reëlected. On the retirement of Chief Justice Orsamus Cole, in 1891, he became, ex-officio, Chief Justice, and so continued until the expiration of his term, in January, 1894. In 1896 he was appointed a member of the State Board of Control.

ELLICOTT R. STILLMAN.

Ellicott Roger Stillman, Postmaster at Milwaukee by appointment of President McKinley, is the son of Edwin Amos Stillman and Jane Cochrane Stillman. His mother was of Scotch-Irish descent, and her grandfather (Craig) was a member of the British Parliament. Her father was a Presbyterian minister, and President of Detroit College at the time of his death. Edwin Amos Stillman was a civil engineer, and at different times had charge of public works in the State of New York. Before the Civil War he was a prominent advocate of abolition and temperance, and while engaged as a lecturer in favor of those reforms was frequently the object of mob violence. In 1874 he was a prominent Greenbacker, and that party made him its nominee for the office of Surveyor-General of the State of New York, but the ticket was defeated. Ellicott R. Stillman was born at Rochester, New York, March 6, 1844, and received a common school education. Soon after leaving his studies he enlisted as a private, in August, 1861, in the Eighty-fifth New York Volunteer Infantry, and participated in most of the battles of the Peninsular campaign, under Gen. McClellan. He was afterwards transferred to Gen. Butler's command in North Carolina, where he took part

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in the battles of Kingston, White Hall, Goldsboro and Plymouth. At the place last named his regiment and brigade were captured on the 20th of April, 1864, after three days of fighting; and the prisoners were sent to the Southern military prisons at Andersonville, Charleston and Florence, where they remained until March, 1865. During his service he was promoted to Corporal, to Sergeant, and to Sergeant-Major, and was recommended for appointment to West Point Military Academy by the Colonel commanding the regiment and the General commanding the brigade, under the order of President Lincoln apportioning to the army the cadetships to which the rebellious States were previously entitled. Young Stillman took lessons of a private tutor to prepare himself for entering the Military Academy; but his capture precluded the possibility of his availing himself of the appointment. January 1st, 1865, he reënlisted for three years more; but, the war coming to an end, he was discharged with his regiment June 7th, 1865, being at that time only three months past his twenty-first birthday, a remarkable record for so young a man. In 1866 he engaged in the lumber business in Michigan, and, subsequently, in the cooperage business, which was transferred, in 1877, to Milwaukee, where it has grown into an extensive and valuable establishment, employing seventy to one hundred men, and producing daily 300 to 500 barrels. Mr. Stillman has been an active Republican ever since he became a voter, and has done much for the success of his party. He was a delegate to two State Conventions while a resident of Michigan. After taking up his residence in Milwaukee he was nominated for Alderman in a strongly Democratic ward, and was defeated. In 1894 he was elected member of the State Assembly from the Eighth District of Milwaukee county for the two years beginning with 1895. In 1896 he was chosen one of the Republican Presidential electors and cast his vote for William McKinley for President; and in the spring of that year he was strongly supported for the Republican nomination for Mayor. He is a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, and of the Masonic Fraternity. Mr. Stillman was married, in 1868, to Mary J. Dickey, of Quincy, Michigan, who died in 1872, leaving one child, Minnie J. He was married a second time, in

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1874, to Lillian E. Stevens, his present wife, and three children have been born to them, namely: Gertrude L., Clara L. and E. B. Wolcott Stillman, an only son.

ANGUS CAMERON.

Caledonia, Livingston county, New York, was the birthplace of Angus Cameron, and he first saw the light on the 4th of July, 1826. As his name indicates, he was of sturdy Scotch descent. He received an academic education, read law at Buffalo, and was graduated from the National Law School at Ballston Spa. In 1857 he removed to Wisconsin and settled at La Crosse. He was a member of the State Senate in 1863-4 and again in 1871-2, and a member of the Assembly in 1866 and 1867, being Speaker of that body in the latter year. In 1864 he was a delegate to the Republican National Convention at Baltimore. From 1866 to 1875 he was one of the Regents of the University of Wisconsin. The striking circumstances under which, by a combination of Republicans, Democrats and Liberals, he was elected United States Senator to succeed Matt H. Carpenter in 1875, have been vividly described by Mr. Thomson, in the historical part of this work. He had not been a candidate for the position, but had used his influence for the election of Mr. Carpenter. The honor came to him unsought, because he was the only man in the State upon whom the opposition to Senator Carpenter could be induced to unite. A Republican from conviction, though never a narrow partisan, he voted with his party in the Senate. When the Bland Bill came before that body in 1878, he was among the Republicans who voted for that measure, reëstablishing the coinage of the 412½-grain silver dollar, an act which gave great offense to many Republicans in Wisconsin. When his term expired, Philetus Sawyer was elected to succeed him; but when, a few weeks later, Senator Carpenter, who had been reëlected in 1879, was removed by death, Senator Cameron was chosen as his successor; so that, with an interval of less than a week in which he was out of office, Mr. Cameron was a Senator of the United States for ten years, from March 4, 1875, to March 4, 1885. He died March 30, 1897.

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ISAAC STEPHENSON.

Isaac Stephenson, who was the choice of a large number of Wisconsin Republicans for the United States Senatorship during the exciting contest in the Legislature last winter, has been a member of the Republican party since its organization, and has labored for its success and contributed liberally to its campaign funds because he believes in its principles. His life has been devoted mainly to business, but he has cheerfully given his time to the people when called upon by them to serve them in official stations. In 1866 and 1868 he was a member of the State Assembly. In 1882 he was elected to Congress, being reëlected in 1884 and 1886. When the close of his third term approached, he declined renomination, there being other strong men of the party in the district well qualified for the office, and his large business interests demanding his personal attention. While in Congress he was a popular and influential member, and did his country good service, as might have been expected from one of so much energy and such wide and varied experience in business affairs. He was on terms of intimacy with many of the political leaders at Washington, and his retirement from public life was a subject of general regret in official circles at the national capital. On his return to Wisconsin his labors for Republican success continued, and he showed in many ways an interest in public affairs, contributing generously to educational and charitable objects, notably to Lawrence University at Appleton. When the United States battleship named in honor of the State of Wisconsin was launched at San Francisco in 1898, Mr. Stephenson conducted, at considerable expense to himself, an excursion to the Pacific slope which participated in the celebration of that event in a manner worthy of its significance to the State and the nation. Mr. Stephenson is of Scotch-Irish extraction on the paternal side. His mother, whose maiden name was Watson, was a native of London. He was born in York county, New Brunswick, June 18, 1829, and after attending school for a short time began to assist his father, who was a farmer and lumberman. When sixteen years of age he came to Milwaukee, in 1845, attending school the following winter, but going in the following spring with Mr.

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Yours truly.
Geo. H. Taylor.

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Sinclair to an unimproved farm five miles south of Janesville, where for two summers he engaged in the heavy work of breaking prairie and trying to raise a crop. Nature was not kind to the young agriculturist, as both crops failed, and Mr. Sinclair, becoming interested with Daniel Wells, Jr., in pine lands in Northern Michigan, sent the young man to look after matters there. He engaged in getting out timber and hauling it to the lake for shipment. Then he was placed in charge of lumber camps, and much of his work was of the hardest and attended with great exposure and danger, but he was not one to quail, and so he advanced in the confidence of his employers until he began operations for himself. During the summer he sailed the lake between Escanaba and Milwaukee and Chicago, carrying freight between those points, and before he was twenty-one years old he owned the controlling interest in the schooner Cleopatra, which, unfortunately, was wrecked in 1853. His familiarity with lumbering and with the pine regions made him a good judge of pine lands, and, in 1848, he accompanied Daniel Wells, Jr., to the Sault Ste. Marie Land Office and assisted in purchasing large tracts of valuable timber land. The enterprises and activities in which he engaged from that time on are too numerous, varied and extensive to be enumerated here; suffice it to say that his business rapidly advanced and extended until he became one of the leading lumbermen of that region. He acquired a quarter interest in the property of N. Ludington & Co., including the great mill, and when, in 1868, that firm gave place to the N. Ludington Stock Company, Mr. Stephenson owned a controlling interest in the property, and since 1883 he has been President of the company. He was one of the large stockholders in the Peshtigo Company, whose factory, together with the village of Peshtigo, was destroyed by the great fire of 1871, involving a loss of nearly $2,000,000; but the mills and village were immediately rebuilt. In 1892 he bought the Peshtigo Company, and reorganized it under the name of the Peshtigo Lumber Company, with Daniel Wells, Jr., and Charles Ray, of Milwaukee, equal owners with himself. He is the President and was the organizer and promoter of the Menominee River Boom Company, which handles more logs than

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any other in the world, and which is capitalized for $1,250,000. He is President of the Stephenson National Bank at Marinette, and is interested in a half dozen companies relating to the lumber industry, which represent millions of capital. He is owner or part owner of thousands of acres of timber in Michigan, Wisconsin and Louisiana. In addition to these vast interests he owns a farm of nine hundred acres in Kenosha county, which is fully stocked and equipped. In connection with this farm is a creamery that makes three hundred pounds of butter daily. He also owns another farm at Marinette, which is principally devoted to the raising of trotting horses. Mr. Stephenson may be properly termed the industrial pioneer of Northeastern Wisconsin and Northern Michigan, because of his promotion of so many enterprises that have proved of vital importance to that region. Mr. Stephenson has been thrice married—first to Margaret Stephenson, in 1852. From this union there are four children living. In 1873 he married Augusta Anderson, who bore him three children, who survive their mother. His third marriage was to Elizabeth Burns, in 1884, and one son is the issue of this marriage. His daughter, Elizabeth Stephenson, has a place in Wisconsin annals for the queenly grace with which she represented the State at the launching of the battleship that bears its name, and for the fact that the ceremony of conferring that name in the manner decreed by nautical traditions was performed by her.

R. C. SPENCER.

Robert Closson Spencer is a member of the famous family conspicuously identified with the cause of practical education in the United States whose name belongs to a style of penmanship devised by one of their number, Platt R. Spencer, the father of the subject of the present sketch. Caleb Spencer, the grandfather of R. C. Spencer, was a soldier of the Revolution. The immigrant ancestor, John Spenser, came to America in 1661, and was one of the founders of East Greenwich, Rhode Island. Robert C. Spencer was born in the village of East Ashtabula, Ohio, January 22, 1829. He grew to manhood on a farm which he helped to

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clear and cultivate. After receiving a common school and academic education, he taught a short time in Gundry's Mercantile College at Cincinnati, and in 1851, in company with Victor M. Rice, opened a commercial school at Buffalo, New York. During the time intervening between then and the Civil War he was actively engaged in establishing a chain of commercial colleges in the larger cities of the Union. When the war broke out he was at St. Louis, and in May, 1861, enlisted in the Third Missouri Volunteer Infantry. When his term of enlistment had expired he returned, with impaired health, to his instructional work, and in 1863 came North in the hope of obtaining benefit from the climate. He arrived in Milwaukee in May, 1863, and in September of that year, under the name of Bryant, Stratton & Spencer, opened the institution which has since 1865 been known as the Spencerian Business College, in which nearly twelve thousand students have been equipped for commercial and other practical pursuits. During his long career Mr. Spencer has been a liberal in religion and has actively exerted himself in the interest of a complete separation of Church and State, as a necessary condition of perfect religious freedom. Politically, he has always been a Republican, with liberal tendencies, and has been active in politics to the extent of discharging what he conceived to be his political duties as a citizen. He has never held nor sought any public office. In 1890 he was the Republican nominee for Representative in Congress from the Milwaukee district. That was a year of disaster to the Republicans, when the State of Wisconsin went over to the Democratic party by a plurality of 28,000, mainly on the compulsory education issue arising out of the passage of the Bennett Law. Mr. Spencer's opponent was Hon. John L. Mitchell, who was elected. Mr. Spencer has performed public services quite as useful as any which official position would have enabled him to confer. He was a leading spirit in organizing the Milwaukee People's Institute, which was for several years a flourishing and useful institution; he was the most active promoter of the Wisconsin Phonological Institute, by whose influence numbers of the congenitally deaf have been taught to speak. He was one of the founders of the Wisconsin Humane Society. As a member

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of the G. A. R. he originated the plan by which the personal, war, civil and family history of members of that and kindred organizations is being collected and preserved. He is Vice-President of the Political Science Association of the University of Wisconsin.

CALVERT SPENSLEY.

Calvert Spensley was born at Stockton-on-Tees, England, January 2, 1846, and came with his parents to Wisconsin three years later. The family settled at Shullsburg, Wisconsin, removing to Mineral Point in 1857, and there Mr. Spensley has since made his home. He was educated in the common schools, Mineral Point Seminary, and Western Union College, Fulton, Ill. While a student at the last-named institution he enlisted in the 140th Regiment, Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and served as Sergeant of Company D. After the war he entered Columbia College Law School, New York city, from which he was graduated in 1869. In 1875-6 he was Chairman of the Board of Supervisors of Iowa county, and in 1877-8 Mayor of the city of Mineral Point. In 1892 he was the candidate of the Republicans for the State Senate in the Twenty-eighth District, and was elected, serving through the sessions of 1893 and 1895, and making a creditable reputation as a useful member of the Senate. Governor Scofield appointed Mr. Spensley a member of the Wisconsin Fish Commission, of which body he is Secretary and Treasurer. His term will not expire till April, 1903.

E. S. BRAGG.

Edward Sylvester Bragg has been one of the most prominent figures in the public life of Wisconsin during the past forty years. He is the son of Joel and Margaretta (Kohl) Bragg, and was born at Unadilla, Otsego county, New York, February 20, 1827. His early years were passed on his father's farm. After preparatory study at the Delaware Academy, at Delhi, he spent three years in Geneva, now Hobart, College, but lack of money pre-

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[illegible] SPENSLEY

[illegible] Spensley was born at [illegible] February 2, 1840. He [illegible] was [illegible] to Wisconsin [illegible] [illegible] and Fourth Senatorial District, and [illegible] [illegible] Law School, New York City, from which he [illegible] graduated in 1866. In 1875-76 he was Chairman of the Board of Supervisors [illegible] and in 1877-8 Mayor of the city of [illegible]. In 1882 he was [illegible] of the Republican [illegible] Senatorial District, and was [illegible] the sessions of 1883 and 1885, and [illegible] reputation as a useful member of the Senate. Governor [illegible] appointed Mr. Spensley a member of the Wisconsin [illegible] Commission, of which body he is Secretary and Treasurer. His term will not expire till April 1, 1908.

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vented him from completing his course. Returning to his native town, he entered the law office of Judge Noble, and was admitted to the bar at Norwich in 1848. After practicing with Judge Noble for two years, he removed to Wisconsin, settling at Fond du Lac, then a promising village, and soon acquired a remunerative practice. In 1854 he became District Attorney of Fond du Lac county, holding the office for two years. In 1860, as a Douglas Democrat, he was a delegate to the National Convention at Charleston. When the Civil War broke out he entered the army as Captain of Company E, Sixth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, May 5, 1861. On the 6th of September in that year he was made Major, and in 1862 he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He was commissioned Colonel in 1863, and Brigadier-General in 1864, being mustered out with the latter rank October 8, 1865. As one of the commanders of the famous Iron Brigade his name became a household word throughout the land. His coolness, daring and fertility of resource so impressed the men of his command that whenever he led he inspired enthusiasm, and his soldiers fought like tigers. He participated in all the campaigns of the Army of the Potomac except those of the Peninsula, Gettysburg and Five Forks. Returning to Fond du Lac after the war, he was, in 1866, appointed Postmaster of that city by President Johnson. In the same year he went as delegate to the Loyalists' Convention at Philadelphia. In 1867 he was elected to the State Senate. In 1868 he was a delegate to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention which nominated Horatio Seymour for the Presidency. Gen. Bragg was a member of the Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh Congresses. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago in 1884, where, as Chairman of the Wisconsin delegation, he seconded the nomination of Grover Cleveland for the Presidency, and caught the ear of the nation with the ringing phrase, "We love him for the enemies he has made." In the fall of that year he was elected to the Forty-ninth Congress, and in 1885 he was appointed Minister to Mexico, in which post he represented his country during the first administration of President Cleveland. In 1893 he was enthusiastically supported for

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the United States Senatorship by a large number of Democrats, but was later defeated by the supporters of John L. Mitchell. Since then he has been engaged in the practice of his profession at Fond du Lac. Like many other leading Democrats in Wisconsin, he repudiated the platform adopted at Chicago in 1896. He was a delegate to the convention of National Democrats which met at Indianapolis that year and adopted a gold standard platform, nominating Senator Palmer for the Presidency. In that convention his own nomination for the Presidency was strongly urged. During the campaign which followed he made several public addresses which consolidated the gold-standard sentiment and powerfully contributed to the overwhelming defeat of Bryan. Gen. Bragg is a member of the Protestant Episcopal church. He was married January 2, 1855, to Miss Cornelia Coleman, by whom he has had three daughters and one son.

EMIL WALLBER.

Prominent among citizens of German birth who have borne an active part in the public life of Milwaukee is Judge Emil Wallber. He was born in Berlin, Germany, April 1, 1841, being the son of Julius and Henrietta Krohn Wallber, and came to this country with his parents when he was nine years of age. The family settled in New York city, where Emil was educated with a view to entering the profession of the law. Coming to Milwaukee in 1855, he secured employment in the office of Charles F. Bode, a Justice of the Peace, and later in the law office of Winfield Smith and Edward Salomon. When Mr. Salomon, who was elected Lieutenant-Governor in 1861, became chief executive of the State by reason of the death of Gov. Harvey, he made Mr. Wallber Chief Clerk in the executive office. Meanwhile the latter continued his legal studies. In 1864 he was admitted to the bar, and in the same year Winfield Smith, who had become Attorney-General, appointed him his assistant in that office. In 1866, at the expiration of his term as Assistant Attorney-General, he returned to Milwaukee and established himself in the practice of his profession. From 1870 to 1873 he was a member of the Mil-

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waukee Board of School Commissioners, serving two years as Chairman of the Board. In 1872 he was a member of the State Assembly. In 1873 he was elected City Attorney, in which important office he was continued by successive reëlections till 1878, when he declined a renomination. Reopening a law office, his efficiency secured a large and remunerative practice. In 1884 he was elected Mayor of Milwaukee, and at the expiration of his two years' term was honored by re-nomination and reëlection. From 1883 to 1890 he was a member of the State Board of Normal School Regents. In 1889 he was elected Judge of the Municipal Court of Milwaukee, to which office he was reëlected in 1885 at the expiration of his six years' term. During his incumbency the law fixing the jurisdiction of the Court has been so altered as to take away the petty police cases formerly assigned to it and elevate it to the grade of a Criminal Court. Judge Wallber is a member of the Masonic Fraternity and of the Sons of Hermann, the Turnverein Milwaukee, the Milwaukee Musical Society, the Kindergarten Verein and other organizations promoting social fellowship and educational progress.

JOHN L. MITCHELL.

John Lendrum Mitchell began his career of public service when at the age of nineteen he enlisted in the Volunteer Army which supported the Federal Government during the Civil War. He went to the front as Second Lieutenant of Company I, Twenty-fourth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, and was promoted to be First Lieutenant January 17, 1863, and transferred to Company E of the same regiment. In June, 1863, he was detailed for service on the brigade staff of Gen. Rousseau, participating in the battles and engagements, including Perryville, Murfreesboro, Hoover's Gap and the campaign about Chattanooga. Then, threatened with loss of eyesight, he sent in a surgeon's certificate of disability accompanied by his resignation of his commission, which was accepted. In 1872 he was elected on the Democratic ticket as a member of the upper house of the Wisconsin Legislature, being reëlected in 1875. In 1884 and 1885 he was Presi-

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dent of the Milwaukee School Board. In 1886, by joint resolution of Congress, he was appointed a member of the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, which position he held by reappointment until the present year, when he resigned to join his family in a European tour. During several years he served as Vice-President of the Board. In 1890 he was elected Representative in Congress from the Fourth Wisconsin District, and in 1892 he was reëlected. While serving his first term in the House of Representatives he was chosen Chairman of the Democratic Congressional Committee, which conducted the successful campaign of 1892. He was the Wisconsin member of the National Democratic Committee for four years, and Treasurer of the Democratic State Central Committee of Wisconsin. In 1893 he was elected to the Senate of the United States, succeeding Philetus Sawyer, and resigned his seat in the House of Representatives to enter upon his duties in the Senate. Mr. Mitchell is the son of Alexander Mitchell, a leading figure in the history of the material development of the Northwest, whose life is sketched elsewhere in this work. Of Scotch descent on his father's side, and of Vermont Yankee descent on the side of his mother, Martha (Reed) Mitchell, it was natural that he should inherit distinguished qualities. He was born in Milwaukee, October 19, 1842, and educated in the public schools of his native city, in a military school at Hampton, Connecticut, and at Dresden, Munich and Genoa. He has spent much of his life on one of the finest farms in the State, located near Milwaukee. He is an ardent lover of rural life, and an authority on all matters pertaining to the raising of crops and the rearing of stock. He reads several languages, and possesses a large library of good books. He is a connoisseur of art, and possesses some of the most valuable paintings owned in Wisconsin. He has done much to promote the cause of popular education. For many years all the children attending the Milwaukee public schools whose parents were too poor to buy text-books were supplied with what they needed at Mr. Mitchell's expense. To develop an interest in scientific agriculture, he established a Short Course in Agriculture at the State University, and offered twenty scholarships

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Calvin S. Brumley

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therein to poor boys, an act of practical benevolence which has borne fruit of incalculable value to the community. He has held the offices of President of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society and President of the Wisconsin Trotting Horse Breeders' Association, trustee of the Layton Art Gallery, and of Milwaukee College and Milwaukee Hospital. He is a member of the Grand Army of the Republic and of Wisconsin Commandery of the Loyal Legion, and of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland. Mr. Mitchell has been twice married. His first wife died many years ago. By his second wife, Harriet Danforth Becker, to whom he was married in 1878, a lady of rare intellectual attainments and a prominent member of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, he has seven children—William, Martha, Janet, Harriet, Ruth, Catherine and John L., Jr. One other child, born abroad, died in infancy and is buried in Florence.

R. J. McGEEHAN.

Robert J. McGeehan, of Depere, is the member of the Democratic State Central Committee for the Eighth Congressional District, and has been conspicuous in the politics of his section of the State during the greater part of the past twenty years. Mr. McGeehan is a native of Canada, where he was born August 26, 1854. He received a common school education. At the age of sixteen he came to the United States, and since 1870 has been a resident of Depere, where he has been successfully engaged in business as a dealer in agricultural implements for many years. Mr. McGeehan's first political office was that of a member of the Board of Aldermen of the city of Depere, to which he was elected in 1883. He was twice reëlected, and from 1887 to 1890 inclusive was a member of the Brown County Board of Supervisors, serving also for five years as a trustee of the Chronic Insane Asylum of the county. In 1889 he was elected as member of the State Assembly for the Second District of Brown county, being reëlected in 1890. In 1892 he was the Democratic candidate for the State Senate in the Second District, consisting of Brown and Oconto counties, his Republican competitor being Edward Scofield. Rob-

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ert Henderson was also a candidate, running on the Prohibition ticket. Mr. Henderson received 14 votes, and Maj. Scofield 4,449. Mr. McGeehan received 5,049 votes, and was elected. Mr. McGeehan naturally takes a deep interest in matters connected with agriculture. He was President of the Brown County Agricultural and Mechanical Association for four years, ending in 1896. He has represented his Congressional District on the Democratic State Central Committee for the past five years. Mr. McGeehan is at present Mayor of the city of Depere.

JAMES O. DAVIDSON.

James O. Davidson, State Treasurer of Wisconsin, has been an active member of the Republican party for many years, and has been selected by the people for numerous positions of honor and trust, in which he has acquitted himself with credit. He is a native of Norway, and was born February 10, 1854. After receiving his education in the common schools of his native country, he came to the United States in 1872, residing first at Madison, later at Boscobel. In 1877 he located at Soldiers' Grove, which has since been his home. For twenty-two years he has been engaged in the mercantile business. He was President of the village of Soldiers' Grove in 1888 and 1889, Village Treasurer in 1892 and 1893, and again in 1897 and 1898. In 1892 he was elected a member of the State Assembly, and was reëlected in 1894 and 1896. For several years he was Chairman of the Republican Committee of the Third Congressional District. In 1898 he was nominated by the Republicans of Wisconsin for State Treasurer, and elected by a plurality of 55,750 votes, his defeated competitors being C. J. M. Malek, Democrat; John Powers, People's; William Larson, Prohibitionist; August Mohr, Social Democrat of America, and Christian Emmerich, Socialist Labor.

J. M. RUSK.

Jeremiah McLain Rusk was born in a log cabin on a farm in the town of Deerfield, Morgan county, Ohio, June 17, 1830. He died at his home in Vernon county, Wisconsin, November 21,

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1893. Between those two dates was crowded a life of energy, high aims and large achievements, full of honor to him who lived it, and rich in usefulness to his fellow men. He grew up on the farm, the entire management of which, owing to his father's death, fell upon him at the age of sixteen. He became noted for his strength and his skill in the operations of agriculture. As a horseman he was celebrated for miles around. When occasion offered, he added to the income from his acres by making barrels and by working as foreman of a gang of laborers engaged in railroad construction. April 5, 1849, he married Mary Martin, a daughter of one of the most respected residents of that section of Ohio. In 1853, with his wife and two infant children, in a covered wagon, Mr. Rusk came to Wisconsin, settling near Viroqua, in what was then known as Bad Axe county, now Vernon. Here he kept a tavern and acquired the proprietorship of a stage-line, driving one of the stages himself. He secured the contract for carrying the mails. In less than two years after his settlement in Bad Axe county he was elected Sheriff, not because he sought the office, but because his neighbors desired him to take it, on account of his superior qualifications for the performance of its duties. This was the beginning of an illustrious public career. In 1857 he was elected Coroner. In 1861 he was elected on the Republican ticket as member of the Assembly. It was during his term that, on the petition of residents, the name of Bad Axe county was changed to Vernon. On the adjournment of the Legislature Mr. Rusk recruited a volunteer regiment of infantry, the Twenty-fifth Wisconsin, of which he was commissioned Major, having declined the Colonelcy. He and his men performed gallant service during the war, and he came out of the service a Brevet Brigadier-General. Here is his subsequent record: Elected State Bank Comptroller in 1865 and reëlected in 1867; elected Representative in Congress from the Sixth District of Wisconsin, in 1870, 1872 and 1874; delegate to the Republican National Convention at Chicago, 1880; nominated by President Garfield as Minister to Uruguay and Paraguay, and unanimously confirmed by the United States Senate, in 1881 [this appointment was declined; he was afterward tendered the appoint-

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ment as Minister to Denmark and as Chief of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, both of which he declined]; elected Governor of Wisconsin in 1881, 1884 and 1886; appointed Secretary of Agriculture in the cabinet of President Harrison March 4, 1889, and served throughout his administration. In the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1888 Senator John C. Spooner, acting as spokesman of the Wisconsin delegation, nominated Gen. Rusk for the Presidency, and he received a complimentary vote including that of the solid delegation of his home State. Justice Harlow S. Orton, speaking of Gov. Rusk's wonderful intuitive knowledge of every subject on which he was called upon to exercise official responsibility, said: "He will smell an unconstitutional or illegal provision in a bill that might escape the notice of the sharpest lawyer in the State." President Harrison, a man not given to fulsome laudation, wrote a glowing eulogy of Secretary Rusk, concluding with these words: "Like Lincoln, he multiplied small chances, and on a hard and barren youth builded a great life. Men of other characters and of other attainments are needed in American public life, but the type of Jeremiah M. Rusk can not be spared."

THADDEUS C. POUND.

For years one of the most conspicuous figures in the politics of Wisconsin was Thaddeus C. Pound. He was a member of the Legislative Assembly of the State in 1864, 1866, 1867 and 1869, serving the last year as Speaker. In 1870 and 1871 he was Lieutenant-Governor. In 1872 he was a delegate to the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia. In 1876 he was nominated by the Republicans of his district for Representative in Congress, and was elected, receiving 14,830 votes, against 13,860 for his Democratic opponent, George W. Cate. Renominated in 1878, he defeated August R. Barrows, Greenback-Democrat, who received only 11,421 votes, against 12,795 for Mr. Pound. Two years later he was once more the choice of his party in the district, his Democratic opponent being W. C. Silverthorn. This time Mr. Pound's majority was swelled to nearly

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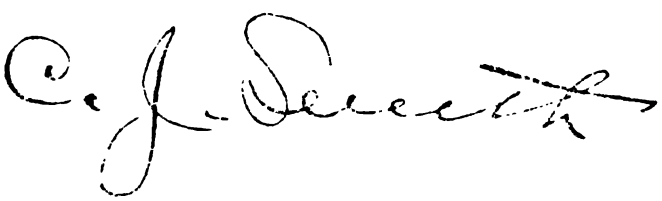

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[illegible] Wisconsin was Charles C. Pound [illegible] a member of the Legislative Assembly of the State in 1864, 1866, 1867 and 1868, serving the last year as Speaker. In 1870 and 1871 he was Lieutenant-Governor. In 1872 he was a delegate to the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia. In 1876 he was nominated by the Republicans of his district for Representative in Congress, and was elected, receiving 14,800 votes, against 13,800 for his Democratic opponent, George W. Cate. Renominated in 1878, he defeated August R. Barnes, Greenback Democrat, who received only 11,421 votes, against 12,797 for Mr. Pound. Two years later he was once more the choice of his party for the district, his Democratic opponent being W. C. Sturtevant. This time Mr. Pound's majority was swelled to over [illegible]

C. J. Sewell

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5.000, the vote standing 14,590 for Silverthorn and 19,256 for Pound. Mr. Pound was an energetic and efficient member of the national legislature, putting in his work there as everywhere a spirit and dash which made him conspicuous. He was born at Elk, Warren county, Pennsylvania, December 6, 1833, and came to this State at the age of fifteen, living in Rock county from 1848 to 1856. He received his academic education at Milton Academy, Wisconsin, and Rushford, Alleghany county, New York. In 1856 he removed to Chippewa county, where he engaged in the manufacture of lumber and in mercantile business. For years he was President of the Union Lumbering Company and of the Chippewa Falls & Western Railway. It would be impossible to write the history of the industrial development of that section of the State without giving a large space to the achievements of Thaddeus C. Pound.

GEORGE SPRATT.

George Spratt of Sheboygan Falls served for fourteen months in the Forty-eighth Wisconsin Regiment of Volunteer Infantry during the Civil War, with the rank of Sergeant. He has for several years held the office of Commander of Richardson Post, G. A. R., of Sheboygan Falls. He was on the staffs of Generals A. G. Weissert, Russell A. Alger and John B. Adams when they were Commanders-in-Chief of the Grand Army He has been a member of the Village Board, and was Clerk of the School Board for twelve years. In 1886 he was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Wisconsin, serving as Chairman of the Committee on Enrolled Bills and as a member of the Reapportionment Committee. He was one of the only two Republicans elected in that year from his Congressional District, but when pressed to accept renomination, he declined. In 1894 many of the Republicans of the Fifth Congressional District desired him to be the nominee for Congress and made a strong fight for him in the convention, but the honor was conferred upon S. S. Barney. Mr. Spratt was born in Boston, England, January 30, 1844, and came to this country with his parents in 1851, where the family

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settled upon a farm on Onion river. The subject of this sketch was educated in the common schools of Sheboygan county, principally during the winter months of his boyhood. He worked at the carpenter's trade as a contractor and builder for several years. In 1872 he began the manufacture of hay rakes and hand farming tools at Sheboygan Falls, following this business until 1884, when he removed to Sheboygan and built a factory in which he successfully continued the same business. In 1892 he began the manufacture of chairs, in which he is now engaged on a large scale. He is a member of St. John's Lodge, F. & A. M., and of Harmony Chapter, Royal Arch Masons of Sheboygan. He is also an Odd Fellow, a Knight of Pythias, and a member of the Royal Arcanum, the Ancient Order of Workingmen and the G. A. R. He attends the Methodist church. In 1888 he was married to Mary J. Nichols. They have had five children, only one of whom, Sara Laura Spratt, is living. Mr. Spratt's English ancestry was distinguished, but the high position which he occupies in the community in which he lives has been achieved by his own integrity, ability and public spirit.

H. H. GRACE.

Harry Holder Grace is a leading lawyer and man of affairs in Superior, Wisconsin. His father was Robert H. Grace, a dealer in lumber and produce, who also kept a hotel, and was made a Master Mason by the present Grand Lecturer, Melvin L. Youngs, nearly forty years ago, while Mr. Youngs was on a visit to Grand Rapids, Wisconsin. His mother's maiden name was Catherine L. Hicks. The elder Grace was a descendant of the Protestant English branch of the Grace family. The family located early in the Eighteenth century in New York. Mrs. Catherine (Hicks) Grace is a descendant of the old immigrant Van Benschoten, who located on the Hudson in 1671. The subject of the present sketch was born at Little Lake, Adams county, Wisconsin. He attended the common schools of Grand Rapids, Wisconsin, and was graduated from the High School. Hon. J. Q. Emery was Principal of the High School, and Mr.

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Grace was one of the several hundred young men in this State indebted to him for the encouragement and influence that caused them to continue in school work. After leaving the High School Mr. Grace attended the University of Wisconsin for about three years. Then began his business and professional training. He studied law in Gen. Kellogg's office in Wausau and in the office of Benton & Benton of Minneapolis. He was admitted to the bar in Minneapolis in March, 1878, after which he practiced law six months at Beaver Falls, Minnesota; nine years at Wausau, Wisconsin; since that time at Superior, Wisconsin, with distinguished success. The two most important cases in which he has been recently successful are the "Hennessey Case," in which the Supreme Court sustained all the street, sewer and sidewalk taxes in Superior, and "the Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic Railway Company Case," in which the Supreme Court reversed two or three other cases and held that lands not occupied by railroad companies could be taxed locally. The decision in the latter case increased the local taxes in Superior about $20,000 per year and affected railroad lands all over the State. Mr. Grace was a Republican until prior to the election of Garfield. He voted for Hancock, and since that time has affiliated with the Democratic party. He ran for District Attorney on the Democratic ticket in Marathon county in 1886; member of Assembly in Douglas county in 1888; for Attorney-General in 1898. In 1887 he was Chairman of the committee to organize the village of Superior, and as attorney conducted the proceedings to secure the village charter. He was nominated by all parties as the first Village President, but declined the nomination. He was elected first Village Attorney and drafted the ordinances since adopted by the city. He assisted in making the draft of the city charter, and with Col. Hiram Hayes drafted the present school charter, which contains two features of public interest. The first of these provides for a levy of the school tax by the School Board, and has enabled the city of Superior to provide ample facilities for a rapidly increasing population. No other city in the State has a similar provision, and in Superior every child has a place to go to school. Under the second of the unique provisions referred

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to, free text-books are furnished to all. As a consequence, all scholars are on an equal footing, and the well-to-do and childless help to educate the children of the poor. Mr. Grace was President of the School Board of Superior for five years. During that time he originated the present school system in Superior, and against strong opposition raised $240,000 and secured the building of seven well-equipped school buildings in the city. He was Chairman of the committee to secure the seventh State Normal School for Superior, selected his own assistants, and after fighting over two and a half years before the Board of Regents and in the Legislature, against the opposition of all other cities competing for the school, helped in securing it for the city of Superior, and delivered the address at the dedication of the school. Mr. Grace has been on the Democratic State Central Committee, and was Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions in 1898. Mr. Grace has an interesting Masonic record. He has held about all the offices in the Blue Lodge, Chapter and Commandery. In the Grand Chapter he was the author of the rule requiring proficiency in preceding degrees before being advanced to subsequent ones. He is a member of the American Bar Association, the Wisconsin Bar Association, and the Douglas County Bar Association. He also belongs to the Superior Commercial Club and other local clubs, and is a member of the Congregational church. September 24, 1878, he married Elizabeth A. McCrossen, daughter of James McCrossen, of Wausau, Wisconsin. They have four children—Zoa A. Grace, 20 years of age; Robert J. Grace, 18 years of age; Clarence Grace, 17 years of age, and Harry H. Grace, Jr., 14 years of age. Robert J. Grace was a member of Company I, Third Wisconsin Volunteers, and was in the Porto Rican campaign in the Spanish War.

WILLIAM E. CRAMER.

The political speaker addresses the public at intervals during the heat of campaigns. The political editor addresses the public daily through the columns of his newspaper. He has the larger audience of the two, and he is in touch with it every working day

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Adolph Zellweger

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[illegible] Supervisor for every [illegible] the enrolled for the present school year [illegible] 52,000 [illegible] of seven [illegible] school [illegible] [illegible] years [illegible] the Board of [illegible] [illegible] position of [illegible] [illegible] and delivered the address at the dedication of the [illegible] Court House [illegible] Democratic State Central Committee [illegible] Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions in [illegible] [illegible] was an interesting Memorial [illegible] [illegible] in the Public Library [illegible] Court House. In the Court House he was the author of the [illegible] proceeding degrees [illegible] [illegible] sentences. He is a member of the American Bar Association, the Wisconsin Bar Association, and the [illegible] Association. He is a member of the Commercial [illegible] and other local clubs, and is a member of the [illegible] church. September 24, 1878, he married Elizabeth A. [illegible]sen, daughter of James McCrossen, of Watsan, Wisconsin. They have four children: Zoa A. Grace, 20 years of age; Robert J. Grace, 18 years of age; Clarence Grace, 17 years of age, and Harry H. Grace, Jr., 14 years of age. Robert J. Grace was a member of Company I, Third Wisconsin Volunteers, and was in the Porto Rican campaign in the Spanish War.

WILLIAM E. CRAMER.

The political speaker addresses the public at intervals during the heat of campaigns. The political editor addresses the people daily through the columns of his newspaper. He has the larger audience of the two, and he is in touch with it every working day

Adolph J. Ehrnich

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in the year. The influence which the editors wield is the most powerful influence exerted by any class of men in our modern civilization. William E. Cramer, the editor-in-chief of the Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin, has been for fifty-two years at the head of the most widely circulated journal in the State, controlling and directing its policy. During all that time he has discussed with absolute fearlessness and independence every political issue which has interested the people. Not one line of his editorial columns has ever been bought or ever been for sale. The biography of such a man is certainly deserving of a place in the political history of Wisconsin. Originally Mr. Cramer was a Democrat. He was born at Waterford, New York, October 29, 1817, a son of John Cramer, who was long a political leader in that State, who was Presidential elector in 1804, casting his vote for Thomas Jefferson, and who represented the Saratoga district in Congress for two terms, 1833 to 1837. Graduated from Union College in 1838, Mr. Cramer read law and was admitted to the bar, but his tastes led him to prefer the vocation of journalism, and from 1843 to 1846 he was one of the editorial writers of the Albany Argus, which was then managed by Edwin Croswell, and was the chief organ of the Democracy in the State. Among the daily associates of the young journalist were John Van Buren, Silas Wright, John A. Dix, Governor Marcy, Horatio Seymour, Samuel J. Tilden, ex-President Van Buren, and other men who made the Democratic party at that time the exponent of great principles which have become embodied in the fiber of the republic. He came to Milwaukee in May, 1847, at the request of a number of prominent Democrats who thought their party needed able journalistic support. In partnership with Joseph Curtis, a Rochester newspaper man, he purchased the Milwaukee Courier, a weekly; and, changing its name to the Daily Wisconsin, he soon made it one of the leading newspapers of the Northwest—a position it has now held for more than half a century, during the whole of which time he has been its active head. Very few issues have gone to press without one or more articles from his pen. No one who reads his graphic descriptions of places, people and things, and who is unacquainted with the author, would

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suppose that they are the work of one bereft of the senses of sight and hearing; yet from 1860 Mr. Cramer has been nearly blind, and able to hear only with the aid of a speaking tube. But his intense energy and industry, quick perception, and marvelous powers of memory and judgment have practically enabled him to overcome his physical disadvantage. Mr. Cramer's sympathies were strongly opposed to the institution of slavery, and he swung his paper to the support of the Republican party soon after its organization. He worked for the election of Fremont, the first Presidential candidate of the party, and has championed the cause of every Republican Presidential candidate since. While he has stood for every cardinal principle in the Republican creed, his especial hobby, if so it may be called, is sound currency, and he has fought with all his strength every scheme for the dilution of the dollar which has shown its head during the six and fifty years of his editorial career. Greenbackism, free silverism, and every form of currency inflation and repudiation that charlatanism and demagoguery have devised to delude the people have had during more than half a century no more alert and stalwart foe than William Edward Cramer, who has riddled them fore and aft with the shot and shell of argument and invective fired from the battery of the Evening Wisconsin. For personal politics, Mr. Cramer has never had any taste. His motto is, "Principles, not men," and his policy has been to advance the cause of the men showing themselves most faithful and efficient in the maintenance of the principles which he holds to be essential to the public weal. He has steadfastly held aloof from the allurements of office, and the only occasion on which he permitted his name to be placed upon a political ticket was in 1872, when he was one of the Wisconsin electors-at-large for President Grant. Only once has he gone to Madison to exert personal influence upon members of the Legislature—in 1869, in behalf of the candidacy of Matt H. Carpenter for the United States Senate. There were but two newspapers in the State which supported Mr. Carpenter's candidacy from the beginning to the end of that successful fight, and the Evening Wisconsin was one of them. It was a coincidence that on the same day when a marble bust of Senator Car-

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penter, purchased by public subscription, was presented to the State Historical Society, to serve as a monument of his fame, a marble bust of William E. Cramer was also presented, and accepted on behalf of the Historical Society by the late Chief Justice Harlow S. Orton, of the State Supreme Court, who said: "Mr. Cramer is in many respects a very remarkable man. For about half a century he has been the proprietor and editor of the Evening Wisconsin, of Milwaukee, one of the ablest, purest and best of Wisconsin newspapers. His editorial writings would make many ponderous volumes, of high moral and literary excellence, on all the varied subjects which have commanded attention in this long period of time. He is entitled to the highest honor in that his newspaper has always been clean and pure, without the least taint, and its influence has always been salutary and for the best interests of society. His writings have been pure because their author has always been pure and honorable. Through all the commercial revulsions and political excitements of the past fifty years Mr. Cramer has held the even tenor of his way, and has been fair, forbearing and courteous. In his line of life he has manifested the highest abilities. He is the Nestor of the American press. His memory may well be perpetuated in enduring marble." Mr. Cramer was married in 1869 to Miss Harriet L. Barker. They have traveled extensively and had the memorable experience of being locked up in Paris for several months during the Franco-Prussian War while that city was besieged, securing their liberation at length through the good offices of United States Minister Washburne and Chancellor Bismarck.

GUSTAV WOLLAEGER.

The late Gustav Wollaeger, whose full baptismal name was John Henry Gustav, was born in Plathe, Prussia, April 6, 1836, the son of Johann and Christine (Spiering) Wollaeger. He was educated in the public schools of his native town and the high schools of Nuernberg and Leipzig, and came to this country in July, 1858, settling in Milwaukee in the following September. The first nine years of his residence in this city were spent as

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pastor of the St. Paul's congregation of the Evangelical Lutheran church. Resigning this position in 1867, he accepted that of bookkeeper in the hardware store of John Pritzlaff. In March, 1870, Mr. Wollaeger assisted in the organization of the Concordia Fire Insurance Company of Milwaukee, and was elected its Secretary. This office he has held continuously since, to the great advantage of the company and those who hold its policies. Conservative in thought and action, conscientious in the discharge of official duty and of sound judgment, he made an excellent executive and administrative official, and the one to whom the success of the company is in large measure due. In politics Mr. Wollaeger acted with the Republican party until the Bennett compulsory school law became a party issue, when he voted the Democratic ticket. He was chosen one of the Presidential electors-at-large in 1892, and in the electoral college he cast his vote for Cleveland for President, and was chosen messenger to convey the result of the vote of the electors to Washington. In the Presidential election of 1896 he voted the straight Republican ticket, believing that the policy of that party on the currency question would best subserve the public welfare. Gov. Scofield appointed him a member of the State Board of Normal School Regents. Mr. Wollaeger was long and closely identified with the Lutheran church and its interests in this State, and was a member and trustee of the local Trinity Church in that denomination. He was also a member of the Board of Directors and Treasurer of Concordia College, Secretary of the Union Cemetery Association, and President of the á Capella Choir. He was married in October, 1859, to Emilie Koehler of Plathe, who died in November, 1865, after years of wasting sickness, leaving no children. On the 27th of August, 1867, he married Miss Henrietta Thomas, of Milwaukee. To them were born seven children. Mr. Wollaeger died July 21, 1899. His son Gustav was appointed his successor on the State Board of Normal School Regents by Acting Governor Stone.

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DR. T. F. MAYHAM.

Dr. T. F. Mayham, of Fond du Lac, is a professional man, but one phase of whose many-sided career belongs in a political history. He was born at Blenheim, Schoharie county, New York, January 30, 1830. His father, who was born in New York, was of Irish and Dutch extraction, and his mother of Scotch, English and French. The boy was brought up to habits of industry and study. While reading medicine, he occupied for two years the chair of chemistry, geology and botany in Carlisle Seminary. He was graduated from Albany Medical College in the class of 1854, and came West in the same year in the hope of benefit to his health, which was badly shattered. For a year he taught school in the town of Empire, Fond du Lac county, and was Superintendent of Schools in that town for three successive years. In the intervals of his duties in this capacity he traveled throughout Wisconsin, introducing a uniform series of text-books into the schools of the State. In 1858-9 he took a post-graduate course in medicine at Ann Arbor, Michigan, after which he practiced his profession at Empire until 1863, when he became post-surgeon of the Government Military Hospital at Cairo, Ill., where he remained until the close of the war. Since then he has been a practicing physician in Fond du Lac. His zeal in keeping abreast of scientific progress in the healing art was evidenced in 1868, when he took the ad eundem course in Chicago Medical College. The esteem in which Dr. Mayham is held by his fellow-citizens has been shown not only by their recourse to him in his professional capacity, but also by his frequent elections to important official positions. He has served as a member of the County Board of Supervisors four terms, and was for many years a member of the City Board of Aldermen, and for six years President of the Council. For several years he was a member of the Board of Education, and was chosen President of the Board four times. In 1882 he was first elected Mayor of the city, and has since been re-elected, serving in all nine terms as head of the city government. During his incumbency of the office of Mayor he was a most active promoter of public improvements calculated to enhance the beauty, healthfulness and attractiveness

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of the city. The water-works and sewerage systems, electric lighting and street paving improvements were mainly constructed during his administrations, or as a result of movements set on foot with his official sanction and assistance. Dr. Mayham's first vote was cast for Franklin Pierce for President, in 1852, and he has ever since affiliated with the Democratic party, wielding an important influence in local and State politics. In 1896 he refused to endorse the Chicago platform or to give his support to the candidates nominated thereon, was a delegate to the Indianapolis convention that nominated as candidates Generals John M. Palmer and Simon B. Buckner, and gave his hearty support to and voted for those candidates at the election. He is a member of the Masonic Fraternity and of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. In religion he is inclined to liberalism, but at the same time has been a generous friend and patron of the churches of all denominations. He was married in 1860, in the town of Empire, to Miss Mary E. Baker, a native of New York State, and has one child, Miss Bessie M. Mayham, whose rare musical ability gives promise of more than local celebrity.

EDWARD P. ALLIS.

When Edward P. Allis, on the Fourth of July, 1877, accepted the nomination of the Greenback party for Governor of Wisconsin, the party was practically without organization in the State. Mr. Allis had up to that year been a Republican, but differing radically from the financial policy of that party, he had publicly withdrawn from its ranks. Entering into the canvass which ensued with characteristic energy and ability, he combined the disjointed elements favoring a paper currency issued by the government, and soon found himself at the head of a compact political organization, which in the fall election of that year cast no fewer than 26,216 votes for the ticket of which he was the head. He delivered speeches throughout the State, and won respectful attention from thousands. The ticket upon which he ran was defeated, but the new party compacted by his candidacy and his canvass elected a

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sufficient number of members of the State Assembly to control its organization. To the close of his life Mr. Allis steadfastly adhered to the convictions on the subject of finance which had led him, on that occasion, to assume the leadership of the Greenbackers. Had he devoted himself to politics, his executive genius and personal magnetism would undoubtedly have produced conspicuous results. But his inclinations and interests lay in another direction. Politics was only an episode in his career. He will be remembered as one of the most extensive and successful manufacturers in the history of the West. Mr. Allis was born at Cazenovia, New York, May 12, 1824, and supplemented an academic education with a course at Union College, from which he was graduated with high honors in 1845. He came to Milwaukee in 1846, and read law for a short time, after which he established himself in business as a leather dealer, erecting, in company with others, large tanneries at Two Rivers, which were under his personal management until 1857. During a portion of the next three years he was engaged with John P. McGregor in the banking business, and in 1860, in company with Mr. McGregor and C. D. Nash, he purchased the Reliance Works in Milwaukee, founded by Decker & Seville, for the manufacture of engines and milling machinery. Under his able management, the business was expanded until it became one of the largest institutions of its kind in the country, manufacturing power plants of all kinds, and filling orders not only from every part of the United States, but from every part of the world. When Mr. Allis died, April 1, 1889, he carried on the employment roll of his great establishment nearly 2,000 men, of whose interest he had always been so considerate that he had never been called upon to confront a strike. He organized for their benefit a mutual aid society, into the treasury of which his corporation paid an amount equal to the total contributed by the employes. In dull times he contrived to keep his force engaged by taking work at little or no profit, rather than turn his industrious mechanics away from work. He was a man of broad culture, fine sensibilities and artistic tastes. His home was adorned with one of the richest collections of French, Dutch, Italian and American art owned anywhere in the West.

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He was survived by his widow, who was Margaret M. Watson of Geneva, New York, whom he married in 1848, and by a large family of sons and daughters, one of whom, William W. Allis, is his successor in the presidency of the great industrial corporation that remains and flourishes as a monument of the ability, the energy, and the genius of Edward P. Allis.

JOHN A. BARNEY.

John A. Barney, Judge of the County Court of Dodge county, was born at Lenox, Madison county, New York, June 14, 1840, and came to Wisconsin in 1847, settling at Mayville, Dodge county, which has been his home ever since. He was educated in common and private schools. After studying law for two years, he left his books to enter the army, enlisting as a private in Company B, Tenth Regiment, Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, in 1861. He was with that regiment in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia, participating in all its engagements until he lost an arm at the battle of Chickamauga, where he was taken prisoner. Gen. Fairchild commissisoned him Captain by brevet for meritorious services rendered at Perryville and Chickamauga. President Johnson appointed him Postmaster, which office he resigned upon the election of President Grant. He has served as Clerk and Chairman of the Town Board, Clerk and President of Mayville, and was Superintendent of Schools for the East District of Dodge county for four years ending December 31, 1874. In 1875 and 1876 he represented Dodge county in the State Senate. During the Forty-sixth Congress he served at Washington as Clerk of the Committee on War Claims. He has held the offices of Justice of the Peace, member of the Board of Aldermen of the city of Mayville, and Secretary of the Dodge County Soldiers' Relief Association. In 1888 he was elected to the State Assembly. He served as Sergeant-at-Arms of the State Senate in 1891. Mr. Barney was elected County Judge of Dodge County in April, 1897, and assumed the duties of the office January 1, 1898.

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JOHN BLACK.

When John Black died, on the 25th of October, 1899, a Milwaukee newspaper, not of his political faith, said of him editorially: "John Black was a man who had high ideals of truth, of honesty, of courage and of chivalry, and he lived up to them. He was a man of keen foresight and rugged energy. By his death Milwaukee has lost a public-spirited and useful citizen, whom she could ill spare. Possessing large means, which he had secured by his own exertions, Mr. Black was never of the class of rich men who discourage municipal progress for the sake of keeping down taxes. The stride which took Milwaukee out of villagehood into cityhood, equipping her with a sewerage system and waterworks, was largely due to his initiative, and under the very shadow of the wing which has borne him hence, he was busy with the consideration of projects to increase the city's railway facilities. He had served with credit in the Assembly and in the State Senate, as well as in the office of Mayor. He was a candidate for Congress and received the votes of many Republicans, but was defeated because he had alienated a section of the Democrats by outspoken remarks in opposition to the disorder accompanying the eight-hour movement in 1886. All his life a Democrat, he refused to endorse the Chicago platform of 1896, and it was an open secret that in the Presidential election of that year he cast his vote for the maintenance of the gold standard. Without religious ostentation, Mr. Black was attached to his church, but he had no touch of bigotry. He was kind and charitable to his fellow men irrespective of race or creed. He will be sadly missed. The mourning evoked by his death is widespread and sincere." Every word of this eulogy was sincere and deserved. Mr. Black was a native of Lorraine, France, where he was born in 1828, his father being Peter Black, a farmer and grape-grower. The young man was educated at college, in Metz, and in 1844 he came with his family to this country, settling at Lockport, N. Y. After spending some years on his father's farm and acquiring a command of the English language, he took a clerkship in a wholesale liquor establishment, and there began a business career which resulted in making him wealthy. He contracted to work the first year

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for $30, the second for $50 and the third for $80, and board and washing. After three years he became a clerk in a dry goods store at a salary of $10 a month, and while filling this position he occupied his odd hours selling real estate to German immigrants, who came to this country in large numbers at that time. This was profitable work and soon enabled him to buy an interest in the wholesale liquor house by which he formerly had been employed. In 1857, after having married Miss Elizabeth Schoeffel of Rochester, N. Y., he sold out his business in Lockport and came to Milwaukee, where he at once started in the wholesale liquor business. Not a politician in the meaner sense of the word, he took a deep interest in municipal affairs and at once became identified with movements for the improvement of the city. He had advanced ideas of government and soon was called on by his fellow-citizens to put them to a practical test, being elected to a number of public offices of honor and trust. In 1870 he was elected a member of the Common Council and immediately bent all his energies to build up a system of waterworks, and, in spite of opposition, he succeeded, giving the city the foundation of the excellent system which it now has. In 1871 he was a member of the Assembly. He was a candidate for elector-at-large on the Democratic Presidential ticket in 1872. In 1873 he was a State Senator. While a member of the Senate he was instrumental in securing the passage of a law to punish bribery at elections. In 1878, when the city was strongly Republican, he was nominated for Mayor by the Democratic party and was elected, much to the surprise of his opponents. One of the first reforms that he introduced was to require the members of the police force to wear uniforms. During the early part of his administration the members of the Common Council conspired to hold a meeting while he was out of the city attending the funeral of a relative and nullify his appointments. A telegraph message was sent to him and he returned at once to the city, arriving here just an hour before the meeting was to be held and in time to thwart the conspirators. He was a delegate to the National Democratic Conventions of 1884 and 1888 and voted for the nomination of Grover Cleveland. Mr. Black lost his wife in 1891, a shock from which he never entirely recovered. As a

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memorial to her he erected a spire on St. John's cathedral which cost $10,000. Mr. Black was a life-long member of the Roman Catholic church. Personally he was genial, approachable, warm-hearted and earnest in his friendship. He was pronounced in his likes and dislikes and never endorsed a man or measure that did not meet his full idea of integrity and justice. He was frank and outspoken, and no one ever left his presence in doubt as to where he stood or what he thought.

N. S. GILSON.

Norman S. Gilson was born on the Western Reserve in Ohio in 1839. He taught school in his native State in 1859-60, and early in 1861 entered the law office of his uncle, the late Leander F. Frisby, of West Bend. The breaking out of the Civil War interrupted his law studies, and in September, 1861, he enlisted as a private in Company D, Twelfth Wisconsin Infantry, and was soon promoted to Sergeant-Major of the regiment, which at that time was doing service in Missouri and Kansas. The regiment was soon after transferred to the Army of the Tennessee, and for a time he was on detached duty with the staff of General Robert B. Mitchell. He remained with that army until the capture of Jackson, Miss., in July, 1863. In the following August he was commissioned First Lieutenant of Company H, Fifty-eighth Regiment, United States colored infantry; he was rapidly promoted to the position of Adjutant and finally became Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment. He took part in the siege of Vicksburg and in the battles of Jackson and Perryville, and several other prominent engagements. Colonel Gilson served on the staff of Major-General Davidson and was assigned to duty as Judge-Advocate of the Natchez District. In 1865-6 he was Judge-Advocate of the Department of the Mississippi, serving at the time on the staff of Major-General Osterhaus. Although his regiment was mustered out of service in 1865, Colonel Gilson was retained on duty for more than a year afterwards by the direction of the Secretary of War, on account of being Judge-Advocate of the court-martial convened for the trial of Captain Speed for criminal carelessness in overloading the steamer Sultana,

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whereby the lives of 1,100 paroled prisoners of war were lost. He was mustered out of service June 12, 1866, at Vicksburg, and was brevetted Colonel of United States Volunteers by President Johnson, retiring from the army at the end of five years of constant service with a record creditable alike to his ability, his valor and his patriotism. Returning to civil life, Colonel Gilson reëngaged in his law studies, completing the full course of the Albany Law School with the Class of '67, and being admitted to the Supreme Court of New York. He settled at Fond du Lac and opened a law office, soon gaining recognition as a conscientious and well read lawyer, which brought him popularity and a large practice. In 1874 he was elected City Attorney of Fond du Lac, and after two years of service was elected District Attorney. Occupying a conspicuous position at the bar, he was an available candidate for the Judgeship of the Fourth Judicial Circuit, and received the Democratic nomination in March, 1880, being elected by over 8,000 majority. He was reëlected without opposition in 1886 and again in 1892. On the expiration of his third term, in 1898, he declined renomination. In 1899 Governor Scofield appointed him as the Democratic member of the newly created State Tax Commission, and his appointment was unanimously confirmed.

JOHN J. ESCH.

John Jacob Esch, Congressman from the Seventh District of Wisconsin, was born near Norwalk, Monroe county, Wisconsin, March 20th, 1861. His education was obtained in the public schools of Milwaukee up to the age of 10 years, and for the next seven years in the schools of Sparta, including the High School, from which he graduated in 1878. The next four years he was a student in the State University, graduating in the modern classical course in 1882. From 1883 to 1886 he was a teacher in the Sparta High School. After that he took the law course in the State University, and graduated with the Class of 1887. While in the University he was one of the debaters representing the Athenæum Society in the team of 1882. He was one of the founders, and, during the senior year, was managing editor of the "Badger," which was one of the

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[illegible] prisoners of war [illegible] [illegible] of service June 12, 1866, at [illegible] [illegible] United States Volunteers by [illegible] [illegible] of five years [illegible] [illegible] to his ability, his value [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] Albany Law School [illegible] Class of 67, and being admitted to the Supreme Court [illegible] New York. [illegible] [illegible] practice. In 1871 he was elected [illegible] Attorney of [illegible] County, and after two years [illegible] was elected District Attorney, occupying [illegible] [illegible] bar. He was an active [illegible] Judge [illegible] Fourth Judicial District, and received the Democratic [illegible] March, 1890, being elected [illegible] over [illegible] [illegible] was re-elected without opposition in 1880 and again in 1882. On [illegible] term, in 1888, he [illegible] [illegible] appointed [illegible] as the Democratic [illegible] the new created State Tax Commission, and his appointment was [illegible] unanimously confirmed.

JOHN J. ESCH

John Jacob Esch, Congressman from the Second District of Wisconsin, was born near Norwalk, Monroe county, Wisconsin, March 20th, 1861. His education was obtained in the public schools of Milwaukee up to the age of 10 years, and for the next six years in the schools of Sparta, including the High School from which he graduated in 1878. The next four years he was a student in the State University, graduating in the modern classical course in 1882. From 1883 to 1886 he was a teacher in the Sparta High School. After that he took the law course in the State University, and graduated with the Class of 1887. While in the University he was one of the debaters representing the Athenaeum Society in the team of 1882. He was one of the founders, and, during the senior year, was managing editor of the "Badger," which was one of the

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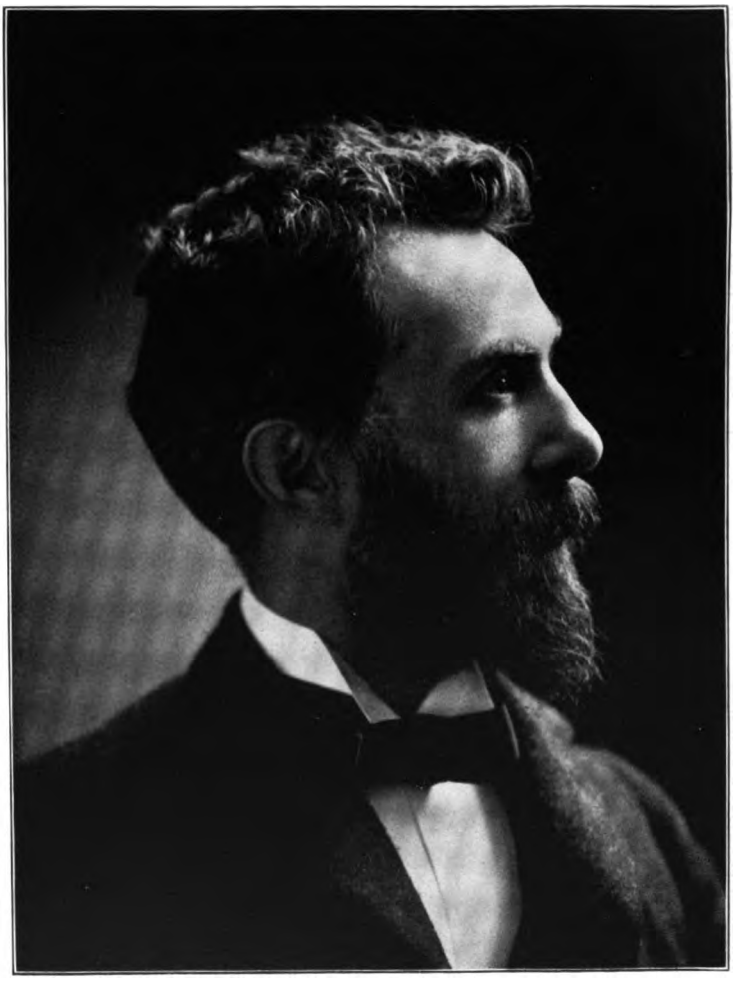

Wm. Geo. Bruce

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few weekly college papers of that day. He was one of the prophets of the Class of 1882 on class day, and appeared on the programme at commencement with an oration entitled "The Jews." He secured his college education by his own exertions, his expenses in the University having been paid by his brother, whom, in turn, he sent through Rush Medical College, Chicago. Since his graduation from the Law School he has been engaged in the successful practice of his profession at La Crosse. The only elective office he ever held, until his election to Congress, was that of Treasurer of Sparta, for which he was nominated without solicitation. In 1883 he organized the Sparta Rifles, Company I, Third Regiment, W. N. G., and was its first Captain, remaining such until 1887. Upon removing to La Crosse, he helped to organize the Gateway City Guards, Company M, Third Regiment, W. N. G., and was Lieutenant and afterward Captain of the company, resigning some two or three years after. In 1895 he was appointed by Governor Upham Judge-Advocate-General and Aid-de-Camp with the rank of Colonel on his staff, and was tendered the same position by Governor Scofield on his staff, but declined it. In March, 1896, he was chosen Chairman of the Republican State Convention to select delegates-at-large to the National Convention which met in St. Louis. In the Republican State Convention which met in Milwaukee in September, 1894, to nominate candidates for State offices, he was a delegate from La Crosse, and made a notable speech nominating F. A. Copeland for Lieutenant-Governor. In the convention which nominated General Griffin for Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of George B. Shaw, Mr. Esch received 26 votes against Gen. Griffin's 32. During the campaigns of 1894 and 1896 he made effective stumping tours of the State under direction of the Republican Committee. In the fall of 1898 he received the Republican nomination for Congress to succeed Gen. Griffin, and was elected by a large majority. Since his election he has made two public addresses in support of President McKinley's policy in the Philippines which have attracted wide attention. One was delivered in his home district on the Fourth of July and the other at Milwaukee on the occasion of the banquet in honor of the visit of the President and his Cabinet to Wisconsin.

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PHILO A. ORTON.

Philo A. Orton was born March 27, 1837, at Hamilton, Madison county, New York, receiving his education at Madison (now Colgate) University and Beloit College. He came to Wisconsin in 1850, and after living at Beloit for five years, removed to Darlington, Lafayette county, where he has resided ever since. He read law in the office of James R. Rose at Darlington, and was admitted to the bar in 1859, since which time he has been engaged in the practice of the profession. He was elected District Attorney of Lafayette county in 1862 and County Judge in 1870. In 1874 he was appointed a Regent of the State University. He was President of the Board of Education of the city of Darlington for more than twenty years. In 1898, nominated for the State Assembly by the Republicans of Lafayette county, he was elected over James H. Clark, Democrat, and Byron J. Eaton, Prohibitionist, and became a prominent member of the Legislature, serving on the Judiciary Committee and securing the passage of laws in regard to railroad and insurance taxation which have considerably increased the income of the State. During the civil strife Judge Orton was a War Democrat. He was a candidate for the office of Attorney-General on the Democratic State ticket in 1861, and Democratic candidate for Congress in 1876. When a candidate for the County Judgeship, in 1870, he ran as an Independent, and the fact of his election in a strong Republican district attested his great personal popularity. In 1880 he voted for Garfield for President, and since that time he has acted with the Republican party. Throughout the State Judge Orton is recognized as one of the leading members of the Wisconsin bar. In addition to keeping his extensive law practice, he has been interested in the business of banking since 1874. He belongs to the Masonic Fraternity, and for two years was Deputy Grand Master of the Deputy Grand Lodge of Wisconsin. January 27, 1862, he was married to Sara M. Osborn, daughter of Capt. S. W. Osborn, of Darlington. He has two children—Susanne and Robert E., the former a graduate of Rockford College and a student of medicine; the latter a bookkeeper in the First National Bank of Darlington.

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HAMILTON RICHARDSON.

Hamilton Richardson was born at LeRoy, Genessee county, New York, October 17, 1820. He passed his early boyhood attending the district school and working on his father's farm; but at the age of fifteen he went into the service of a mercantile firm. Two years later, when Michigan was admitted to the Union, the firm moved their business to the new State, taking their young employee with them. They were active in the development of the town of Flint, constructing the first dam across the Flint river, building and operating the first sawmill, platting town lots and conducting the first mercantile house and the first bank. Young Richardson, sustaining confidential relations with the firm, was active in all these operations, and obtained an intimate acquaintance with business which was useful to him in his subsequent career. In 1840, the firm having been forced into liquidation as a result of the widespread panic of 1837, Richardson, then only in his twentieth year, returned to his native town and pursued an academic course of study. In 1842 he came West, and for two years was bookkeeper for a large firm in Milwaukee. In 1844 he opened a hardware store at Racine. At the end of two years he sold out and removed to Janesville, where he continued to sell hardware until 1850, when, in partnership with William Truesdell, he built the Excelsior Mills, afterward known as the Hodson Mills. This was a losing venture, the plant being twice almost destroyed, once by fire and once by flood. In the hope of reëstablishing himself financially, Mr. Richardson, in 1851, went to California, where, during four years of legitimate business enterprise and much perilous adventure, he acquired the means to make large purchases of real estate in Janesville, when the panic of 1857 had induced speculative holders to throw their property on the market. These investments, wisely handled by Mr. Richardson, have ever since been a source of income. He has been a leading citizen of Janesville, interested in many of its large industrial enterprises, and always performing more than his share of work in undertakings calculated to benefit the community. In early life Mr. Richardson was a Democrat, but at the opening of the Civil War he became an ardent supporter of the administration

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of President Lincoln. He gave liberally of time and money in raising troops, and was one of the committee of three which enlisted the Thirteenth Wisconsin Regiment. Indeed, there was hardly a committee of which Mr. Richardson was not a member organized in the city of Janesville to aid the Government during the war. In 1864, by the combined vote of Republicans and Democrats, he was elected to the State Assembly. Four years later he was elected to the Board of Supervisors, and served on the committee which had charge of the erection of Rock County Court House. Twice thereafter he was elected to the County Board, and, beginning with 1876, he was elected State Senator for three successive terms. In the Legislature of 1879 he introduced the measure which placed all the charitable and reformatory institutions of the State under the supervision of a Board of Control. In 1881, as Chairman of the Committee on Charitable and Penal Institutions, he introduced a bill for the humane care of the chronic insane, by which was established the present admirable system of combined State and County control and treatment of members of this unfortunate class. In July, 1883, President Arthur appointed him postmaster at Janesville, which office he filled until February, 1888. Mr. Richardson was married in 1858 to Miss Caroline A. Pease, of Hartford, Connecticut. They have had six children born to them—five sons and one daughter.

CHARLES BARBER.

Charles Barber was born at Burlington, Vermont, September 21, 1851, the eldest son of Ammi P. Barber, a distinguished physician, who removed with his family to Oshkosh in 1857, where the subject of this sketch has since lived. The young man attended the public schools, and was a member of the first class graduated from the Oshkosh High School. Under the private tutorship of Arthur Everett, the principal of that school, he then went through studies equivalent to a collegiate course, at the same time beginning to read law in the office of Earl P. Finch. He was Assistant and Vice Principal of the Oshkosh High School for three years, and in 1873 went to New York city, where he took the full course in the Columbia Law School. In 1874, at Oshkosh, he was

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admitted to the bar, and entered into partnership with his former preceptor, Mr. Finch, the association continuing till the death of the latter, in 1888, and constituting one of the strongest law firms in Northern Wisconsin. From September, 1874, to September, 1875, Mr. Barber was Inspector of the city schools of Oshkosh, an office corresponding to that of Superintendent. He has served as School Commissioner for one term, and in 1883 held the office of City Attorney. With these exceptions he has held no official position, but he has freely given his time when required for the interests of the Democratic party, and has been conspicuous in its councils and conventions. As a lawyer, Mr. Barber's practice has grown to large proportions, extending into the higher courts of Wisconsin and other States and into the United States courts. In 1877 he argued his first case in the United States Supreme Court. It involved the title to school lands in Indian reservations, and settled issues of much importance in the State of Wisconsin. For years he has been local Attorney at Oshkosh of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Company and the Chicago & Northwestern. He is the senior member of the law firm of Barbers & Beglinger, composed of himself, his brother, Henry Barber, and Frederic Beglinger. Mr. Barber is identified with numerous business interests in Oshkosh. He was for ten years president of the Street Railway Company, is a director of the National Union Bank, was one of the organizers of the German National Bank, is a stockholder in that and other banking institutions, and is president of The Times Publishing Company, which issues The Oshkosh Times, one of the leading Democratic newspapers of Wisconsin. Mr. Barber married, 1879, Miss Daisy C. Jenkins, a daughter of Captain James Jenkins of Oshkosh. She died in 1891, leaving four daughters. In 1893 Mr. Barber married Miss Mary B. Billings of Oshkosh.

S. D. HASTINGS.

Samuel D. Hastings, now living in cheerful and dignified old age at Green Bay, is one of the last survivors of the devoted band of writers, orators and philanthropists who were the pioneers in the

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anti-slavery movement. He was a co-worker with Garrison, Whittier, Phillips and Hale, all of whom have closed their earthly careers, while he remains. He was conspicuous in early work for the material development of Wisconsin as well as in movements for moral reform. Samuel D. Hastings was born July 24, 1816, at Leicester, Mass. His father was English and his mother Scotch. His boyhood was passed mostly in Boston. From his fourteenth till his thirtieth year he resided at Philadelphia, where he was married in 1837 to Miss Margaretta Shubert. The remainder of his life has been passed in Wisconsin. He was one of the founders of the Liberty party, and Chairman of its State Central Committee for Pennsylvania. In 1846 he came to Wisconsin, settling in Walworth county. In 1849 he represented the Geneva district of Walworth county in the State Assembly, to which body he was again elected in 1857 from Trempealeau. In 1857 he removed to La Crosse, where he lived for several years. He was one of the committee which went to Madison to procure the city charter, and the original draft of that instrument was in his handwriting. He was conspicuous in the temperance reform movement which carried the State in 1853, and has during all the intervening years been a leading worker in behalf of temperance, his name being known in that capacity wherever the English language is spoken. As an organizer of the forces of total abstinence he has crossed the ocean no fewer than eight times, and has delivered speeches in every county and nearly every considerable town in Wisconsin, in nearly every State in the Union, in Canada, in England, Scotland and Ireland, in Tasmania, in New Zealand and in Australia. In 1857, nominated by John F. Potter, he was made the Republican candidate for State Treasurer, and was elected, being reëlected three times in succession and holding the office until January 1, 1866. It was during his incumbency and by means of his negotiations that the loans were effected which enabled Wisconsin to procure the funds that enabled it to promptly respond to all the calls for troops which were made upon it during the Civil War. He acted with the Republican party until 1881, when the organization of the Prohibition party was effected, with his advice and coöperation, and in 1884 he was the candidate of that party for Governor. Among the many offices

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of honor and trust which he has held, besides those referred to above, are those of Secretary of the State Board of Charities, Trustee of the State Hospital for the Insane, Treasurer of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, and Curator of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. He is an active member of the Congregational church. His family consists of a son, Judge Samuel D. Hastings of Green Bay, and two married daughters.

OLIVER G. MUNSON.

Oliver G. Munson was born in Howard county, Iowa, March 2, 1856; received his education in the common and High schools of Iowa and Minnesota, and came to Wisconsin one year before he reached his majority. From 1876 to 1886 he lived at Richland Center; since then he has been a resident of Viroqua. He is an editor and publisher, having published the Richland Republican, and for a still longer period of time having conducted the Vernon County Censor, one of the most prosperous and influential weekly newspapers in its section of Wisconsin, with which he is still identified. Mr. Munson has served as city clerk of Richland Center, and represented one of the Viroqua wards on the Vernon County Board of Supervisors three years. He was bookkeeper in the State Senate for several terms, and for two terms was assistant chief clerk of the Assembly. In 1896 Mr. Munson was nominated without opposition, and elected on the Republican ticket to represent the Twenty-eighth District, consisting of Vernon, Richland and Crawford counties, in the State Senate, receiving 9,361 votes against 5,221 votes from B. F. Washburn, the Fusion candidate, and one vote for A. J. Schauff. He has been an active and useful member of the Senate. Mr. Munson has never trained with a faction in his party, but has always represented the broad Republicanism which demands clean men for official trusts, and which protects at any cost of personal self-sacrifice the higher interests of the party. He believes that the men in place and power are the servants of the people who place them there, and it was in accordance with this belief that in the Republican Senatorial caucus last winter he made the motion, which was carried, pro-

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viding for an open ballot, which would enable every member's constituents to see where he stood and to know that he was keeping faith with them. In his legislative work Mr. Munson's vote is recorded on the side of all reforms promised the people in the platforms of his party. He demonstrated that independence, not policy, governed his personal and official acts. The same characteristics stand out boldly in his editorial utterances and business affairs.

JOSEPH B. WHITING, M. D.

A man who is widely known and highly respected throughout the State, and whose character and attainments would fit him to ornament any official station, but whose chief delight has always been in the practice of his noble profession of medicine, is Dr. Joseph Bellamy Whiting, of Janesville. Dr. Whiting is of good New England stock, and was born in New Haven, Connecticut, December 16, 1822. His father died when the son was only three years of age, and the latter owes to the careful training of a wise and devoted mother the strong foundations of moral and intellectual discipline upon which he has built his long and useful life. She survived until 1867, dying at the ripe age of seventy-one. After receiving a common school and academic education, he began teaching at seventeen, in which work he spent five years. Then he devoted another year to literary studies, after which, in the office of Dr. Vincent Holcombe, of Granville, Hampden county, Massachusetts, he began the study of medicine and surgery. In 1847 he matriculated at the Berkshire Medical College, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and attended his first course of medical lectures. After faithful attendance upon a second course of lectures at the Vermont Medical College, he entered the office of Drs. H. H. and T. Childs, remaining with them until his graduation from the Berkshire Medical College in 1848. His first location as a practitioner of medicine was at Wolcottville, Connecticut, where in 1850 he married Frances A. Hungerford, daughter of John A. Hungerford of that place. In 1852 he returned to Brooklyn, New York, where he entered upon a promising career which he was obliged

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[illegible] Hungerford, daughter of John A. [illegible] place. In 1852 he returned to Brooklyn, New York, where he entered upon a promising career which [illegible]

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T. F. Mayham M.D.

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to relinquish on account of the failing health of his wife, who died in 1854. He then removed to Lee, Berkshire county, Massachusetts, where he enjoyed a large practice, and was for six years Secretary of the Berkshire District Medical Society. In 1860 he married the widow of Edward V. Whiton, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, and removed to Janesville in this State, where he has since resided. Dr. Whiting was a War Democrat, and at the breaking out of the Rebellion he offered his services to his country. After the battle of Fort Donelson, Gov. Harvey sent him to the front to care for Wisconsin's wounded soldiers. He remained on duty in the wards of Mound City Hospital during six months. When the Thirty-third Regiment of Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry was raised, Dr. Whiting received a commission as its surgeon. Subsequently he was detailed for special service near army headquarters; then he was made Chief Executive officer, under Surgeon Franklin, of the large military hospital established by order of Gen. Grant at Milliken's Bend, Louisiana, and, not long afterward, Surgeon Franklin being ordered to join his division, Dr. Whiting succeeded him as Surgeon-in-Chief. The hospital was the largest general hospital in the Mississippi Valley below Cairo, containing about 3,000 inmates, and was in every respect a model institution of its kind. So admirably scrupulous was its financial management that when it was closed in September, 1863, after an existence of nearly seven months there stood to its credit on the books of the Commissary Department, as an unexpended balance, the handsome sum of $10,000, which had been saved to the Government by the efficient administration of Dr. Whiting. He was next appointed Surgeon-in-Chief of the military district of Natchez, with that city as headquarters, and in that capacity coped with a small-pox epidemic. The exigencies of the case required his appointment by the military authorities as Mayor of the city, the duties of which office he ably executed for three months, when he was prostrated by a fit of illness which necessitated his honorable discharge from the service in July, 1864. Since 1865, when his health became restored, he has practiced his profession in Janesville, enjoying the confidence and respect

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of the people, and being honored by his medical brethren by election to the office of President of the Wisconsin State Medical Society. He has always had literary tastes and abilities, and has in various ways manifested an interest in the cause of education. For many years he was Secretary of the Wisconsin Institution for the Education of the Blind.

GEORGE N. WISWELL.

George Nelson Wiswell, a popular and active Republican, who has held several important offices which he has filled with noteworthy ability, is the son of Christopher Wiswell, a native of New Hampshire, of Welsh descent, and was born in the town of La Fayette, Walworth county, Wisconsin, July 19, 1852. The senior Wiswell, for many years a successful farmer, was one of the organizers of the First National Bank of Elkhorn, and was chosen its President, a position which he filled with fidelity and ability for twenty years, till his death in 1883. From his mother, Almira West Wiswell, whose death occurred only three days prior to that of her husband, the subject of this sketch derived a remarkable talent for music, which he has often employed to the delight of his friends. His education, begun in the district school of his native town, was completed in the graded schools of Elkhorn. After learning the trades of tinsmith and plumber, he engaged in the hardware business, which he followed for ten years. In 1886 he was elected Sheriff of Walworth county, and during his first term founded the State Organization of Sheriffs, of which he was Secretary for four years. He was First Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms of the National Republican Conventions at Chicago in 1888, at Minneapolis in 1892 and at St. Louis in 1896. In March, 1889, President Harrison appointed him United States Marshall for the Eastern District of Wisconsin, and he held the office till May 1, 1893. In this capacity, by his own personal exertions, he broke up the band of robbers known as the "brush hunters" in Hurley county, and he arrested in Milwaukee, after a six months' search, the notorious counterfeiter and murderer, Fred Marsh. He also arrested a noted Prussian counter-

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feiter and forger, taking him to New York and putting him aboard the steamer which took him back to his native country, which had been the scene of his crimes. Since 1893, Mr. Wiswell has been Secretary and General Manager of the Fraternal Alliance Insurance Association. He is a member of the Masonic order, Wisconsin Consistory, and Mystic Shrine, the Knights of Pythias, the Odd Fellows, the Hoo Hoos and the Loyal Legion —the latter by brevet. He is also a member of the Milwaukee Club, the County Club, the Calumet Club and the Deutscher Club, of Milwaukee. August 28, 1873, he was married to Clara M. Perry, only daughter of John A. Perry, of Elkhorn. They have three daughters—Harriet L., Jean and Marguerite.

D. W. MAXON.

Densmore William Maxon was a well known and influential person in the halls of legislation at Madison from the beginning of the period of Statehood until as recent a date as the first administration of Grover Cleveland. He was a native of Vernon, Oneida county, New York, where he was born September 20th, 1830. He was educated at the Oneida Conference Seminary at Cazenovia, N. Y. He studied both law and civil engineering in his younger days, but never practiced the former profession. His intensely active disposition made him indisposed to confine himself to the practice of the law. Coming to Wisconsin in 1843 he first settled in Milwaukee and shortly afterwards in Washington county, where he entered through the United States Government the land upon which afterwards was located the site of the village of Cedar Creek, a portion of which land is still retained in the family as the homestead by unbroken title from the Government. Soon after becoming a resident of the Territory of Wisconsin, he was appointed Deputy County Surveyor of Washington county, which office he held for a number of years. The Blue Book of Wisconsin registers him nominally as a farmer, but he was in reality a man of public affairs. In 1848 he was elected to the first State Assembly at which the State Constitution went into effect, and he was reëlected

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a member of the Assembly in 1852, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872 and 1882. For the four years 1857-1861 he was a member of the State Senate. In 1865 he was the candidate of the Democratic party for Lieutenant-Governor. Among the laws of which Mr. Maxon was the father is that which substituted the County Board of Supervisors for the old County Commissioners, a step recognizing local self-government in county affairs. The bill was known as "A No. 1" and for a number of sessions met defeat, but finally, through perseverance, became the law of the State. He was also the father of the bill requiring the State and Federal Constitutions to be taught in public schools, and also the law creating the Northern Hospital for the Insane, and shortly before his death he declared that he wanted no better monument to his memory than this institution. Prior to its construction many insane persons were confined in county jails and in county poor houses. He visited many of these institutions and procured the data upon which he finally succeeded in convincing the Legislature that this unfortunate class were "wards of the State" and ought not to be treated and confined as criminals and paupers. He gave his personal attention to the building of this institution, and was for many years the President of its Managing Board of Trustees. Mr. Maxon also procured the passage of both State and Federal legislation creating the Wisconsin Railroad Farm Mortgage Land Co. and obtained from the C., M. & St. P. R. R. what was then considered a worthless grant, and prosecuted the claim thus obtained in the Interior Department at Washington and in the courts of the United States, which resulted in the recovery of a quarter of a million dollars for distribution among the farmers who had lost their farms by mortgages given to the old La Crosse and Horicon Railroad. In 1879 Mr. Maxon was placed in charge of the land grant of the Sturgeon Bay and Lake Michigan canal at a time when it was on the verge of bankruptcy. He so pushed the sales and managed its affairs as to save the enterprise from impending failure. The canal was completed in a few years and is now a much used thoroughfare in the navigation of our inland lakes. He was married to Miss Elizabeth Turck April 6th, 1846, and

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R. J. McGeehan

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died March 21st, 1887, at Santa Cruz, California, while on a visit to his aged mother. He is survived by his widow, who resides at the old homestead, and six children—Captain M. M. Maxon, who graduated from West Point in 1869 and served on the frontier until 1891, at which time he went upon the retired list on account of disabilities contracted in the service; Glenway Maxon, of Milwaukee, an attorney at law; Dow Maxon, of Cedar Creek, who owns and operates several creameries in Washington county; Mrs. Dr. J. S. Cutler, of Wauwatosa, Wis.; D. W. Maxon, Jr., and Miss Ada Maxon, who reside at Cedar Lake, Washington county, Wis.

EDWARD SCOFIELD.

Edward Scofield, nineteenth Governor of Wisconsin, was born at Clearfield, Pennsylvania, March 28, 1842. His father, Isaac Scofield, who followed the double occupation of farming and lumbering, was a Virginian, of English descent. His mother, whose maiden name was Collins, was of Irish ancestry, and a native of Pennsylvania. At the age of thirteen the future Governor gave up going to school, and became a printer's apprentice, in which capacity he worked for three years for his board and clothing. During the three succeeding years he worked in the office of The Brookville (Pa.) Jeffersonian, for $100 a year and his board. When the Civil War broke out he enlisted in response to the President's first call for troops. This was in April, 1861, and he was just turned nineteen years of age. His regiment, the Eleventh Pennsylvania Infantry, became part of the Army of the Potomac. Meritorious service led to the young printer boy's promotion from the ranks, first to a lieutenancy, and then to the rank of captain, the latter honor being the reward of gallantry on the field of Gettysburg. At the battle of the Wilderness, May 5th, 1864, he was captured by the Confederates, who held him for ten months, during which he endured privations that nearly ended his life. He returned home, broken in health, long after his period of enlistment had expired, and found awaiting him a commission as major. At the close of the war he joined a party

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of railroad engineers. In 1868 he became foreman of a lumber mill at Oconto, husbanding his salary for eight years to acquire a capital, and subsequently entering business on his own account. In 1890 he formed a partnership with George R. Arnold, under the name of Edward Scofield & Co., the business being incorporated four years later under the name of the Scofield & Arnold Lumber Company, with Maj. Scofield as president, George I. Scofield as vice-president, and George R. Arnold as secretary and treasurer. The Governor is also financially interested in the lumber firm of McElwer & Co. In 1887 Major Scofield was elected as a Republican to represent the First District in the State Senate. In 1894 his name was strongly presented to the Republican State Convention as a candidate for Governor, but the nomination went to Major W. H. Upham. Two years later, Governor Upham having declined renomination, there were several other candidates for the nomination, but the friends of Major Scofield rallied in force, and after a spirited contest, his name was placed at the head of the Republican State ticket. It was a presidential year. The canvass was one of the liveliest in the history of the State. When the ballots were counted on election night, it was found that Major Scofield's Democratic opponent, Judge Silverthorn, had received 169,253 votes, while the votes cast for Scofield numbered 264,814, giving him a plurality of 95,551, by far the largest ever recorded for a candidate for Governor in the history of Wisconsin. His business-like administration of the State finances won the admiration of the people, and though a powerful effort was made to defeat his renomination, his party again made him its standard bearer in 1898, and he was triumphantly reëlected. Governor Scofield's administration has been distinguished, and will be more distinguished in the future, for the reform effected in the State institutions and in the general administration of State affairs. Governor Scofield is essentially a business man, and he has applied business principles to the carrying on of the State government. He established through the State Board of Control the most efficient system of civil service for the management of the State institutions, which has greatly elevated the morale of those institutions, and, incidentally, has materially

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reduced their expenses. He is the first Governor, also, to have taken hold of the subject of tax reform in the State, and upon his recommendation the present efficient Tax Commission was appointed, which is now at work upon the great tax problems. One of the first things Governor Scofield did after assuming the duties of his office was to ascertain for himself the condition of the State's finances. Owing to the peculiar methods of bookkeeping which had been in vogue, this was a very difficult task; but finally some order was brought out of chaos, and as a result it was recommended by the last Legislature that an expert commission be appointed to unify and revise the whole system of State bookkeeping in order to simplify the matter, and make it plain to every citizen who desired to know the condition of the State's finances, and what it actually costs to carry on the State government. His administration, therefore, may be characterized as essentially a business administration. These reforms have been carried on in a very quiet way, without exploitation, and their good effectswil be more plainly felt in years to come than they are at the present time.

RICHARD WEAVER.

Richard Weaver is a native of England who came to this country in infancy, and has been a resident of Wisconsin for more than sixty years. He was born in Sussex, England, August 25, 1827, and his father's family, who immigrated to America in 1830, settling first in Oneida county, New York, were among the English colonists who founded the village of Sussex, in the town of Lisbon, Waukesha county, in this State, where he has lived since 1837. He received his education in the common schools, and acquired a competence by industry and thrift as a farmer and hop merchant. He is Vice-President of the Waukesha National Bank, and has for years been a leading spirit in the directorate of the Waukesha Malleable Iron Company. A Democrat by conviction, Mr. Weaver has long taken an active part in politics. He has held different town offices and has been Chairman of the Board of Supervisors. In 1878 he was a member of the State Assembly. In 1880 and 1881 he was a member

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of the State Senate. Mr. Weaver was among the influential Wisconsin Democrats who refused to endorse the Chicago platform of 1896 or to support the Presidential candidacy of William Jennings Bryan. He represents the Fifth Congressional District as a member of the National Democratic State Central Committee of Wisconsin.

E. W. KEYES.

Among the energetic, influential individual factors in the politics of Wisconsin there is not another of equal distinction in any party whose activity has covered so long a period as that of Elisha W. Keyes. Originally a Whig, Judge Keyes has been a Republican since the birth of the organization, and for fifty years few campaigns have taken place in which he has not borne a laboring oar. Brought up on a farm, he began to read law soon after coming of age. In the spring of 1852, under Fillmore's administration, he was appointed a special agent of the Postoffice Department by Postmaster-General N. K. Hall, a position which he filled for several months. In the fall of 1858 he was elected District Attorney of Dane county and vigorously discharged the duties of that office in 1859 and 1860. In April, 1861, he was appointed by President Lincoln Postmaster at Madison, being reappointed by Presidents Johnson, Grant and Hayes, and serving continuously in that office for twenty-one years. In 1865 he was elected the first Republican Mayor of Madison, and reëlected, without opposition, in 1866. In 1877 he was appointed a Regent of the University of Wisconsin, holding the position by reappointment for twelve years. He was elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1882, and reëlected Mayor of Madison in 1886. In February, 1889, he was appointed by Gov. Hoard Municipal Judge of Dane county, to fill a vacancy, and was elected to that position by the people of the county in April of that year, serving out the unexpired term of Judge A. B. Braley, which terminated January 1, 1893. He now holds the office of Postmaster at Madison by appointment of President McKinley. During the Civil War he rendered exceptionally efficient political support to the administration, and had for sev-

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Julius E. Pohl.

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eral years been a member of the Republican State Central Committee, when, in 1868, that body, recognizing his extraordinary executive ability, appointed him its chairman. This position he held for ten years, and the campaigns of the party were never more vigorously conducted, before nor since, than during those ten years. He was a delegate to the Republican National Conventions which met at Philadelphia in 1872, at Cincinnati in 1876, and at Chicago in 1884, and in each case was Chairman of the Wisconsin delegation. At the two conventions last named he was a strong supporter of the Presidential candidacy of James G. Blaine. Judge Keyes was twice powerfully supported in the Republican Legislative caucus as a candidate for the United States Senate. In the former of these contests, which occurred in 1879, he was in the lead during more than one hundred ballots, receiving as high as thirty-three votes, finally withdrawing in favor of his friend Matt. H. Carpenter, who received the nomination and was elected. The second occasion was in 1881, when he received thirty-three legislative votes, but was defeated by Philetus Sawyer. Judge Keyes was born in Northfield, Washington county, Vermont, January 23, 1828, being the third son of Capt. Joseph Keyes, who was one of the earliest pioneer settlers of the Territory of Wisconsin, coming here in 1836, and being followed by his family in 1837. From June to September in the latter year the home of Capt. Keyes was in Milwaukee, and Elisha, then in his tenth year, attended the historic school in the old Courthouse, kept by Eli Bates. The family then settled on a land claim in the Township of Lake Mills, Jefferson county, which Capt. Keyes had selected the previous year. The history of the sturdy strokes by which he helped to plant civilization in the wilderness has been vividly narrated by his son in one of the most interesting pamphlets which have been published on the subject of pioneer times in Wisconsin. It was in assisting his father in this rugged labor that the youth developed the constitution which has enabled him to withstand the fatigues of hotly-fought political campaigns for half a century and still retain elasticity of mind and body beyond the limit at which the Psalmist fixed the duration of the life of man. His literary

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education was acquired mostly in the common schools, supplemented by a few terms at Beloit Seminary. He studied law in the office of A. L. Collins and George B. Smith, and was admitted to the bar in Dane county in October, 1851. From 1853 to January 1, 1855, he was a law partner of his former preceptors, the firm being Collins, Smith & Keyes. The senior member retired on his election to the bench of the Circuit Court, and thenceforward, until 1862, the firm was Smith & Keyes, doing a larger law business than any other firm in the interior of the State. Subsequently for a number of years Judge Keyes was a member of the law firm of Orton, Keyes & Chynoweth, the partnership finally being dissolved upon the election of Judge Orton to the bench of the State Supreme Court. In 1871 Mr. Keyes was appointed by the Secretary of War attorney to represent the United States in the arbitration between the government and the Green Bay & Mississippi Canal Company. The attorneys for the company claimed that the waterway and improvements which had been made were worth in the neighborhood of two million dollars, while Mr. Keyes asserted that the improvements were worth nothing. He succeeded in convincing the arbitrators. Congress appropriated $145,000, for which sum the government acquired all the company's rights, thanks to the efficient manner in which the government's side of the case had been managed by Mr. Keyes. Mr. Keyes was first married in the city of New York, in May, 1854, to Miss Caroline Stevens, who died in 1865, leaving him three children, two sons, Joseph S. and Elisha W., and a daughter, Catharine. In 1867 he was married to Mrs. Louise Sholes, by whom he had one son, Louis R. This union was dissolved by the courts, and in 1888 he married Mrs. Eliza M. Reeves, with whom he now lives. A man of keen intelligence, piercing insight into human nature, and indomitable will, Judge Keyes would have risen to eminence in any community, and in any age, and in any calling he had chosen to adopt. His veneer of brusquerie covers but does not conceal a kind heart. He is enthusiastically loyal. His reputation for arbitrariness proceeds from his insistence as a matter of principle upon the rigorous enforcement of party dis-

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cipline. Had his ambition run in the direction of riches, he could have been an enormously wealthy man. He has been true to his ideal of public duty, and what mistakes he has made have proceeded from zeal, not on his own behalf, but on behalf of the organization whose success he has always believed to be essential to the public good. It was characteristic of the man that when he himself was a candidate for the Senatorship, in 1879, he consented to withdraw; but when Matt. H. Carpenter was his candidate in 1875 he doggedly repulsed all efforts to effect a compromise, and with the solid phalanx of "regulars" around him, "fiercely fighting fell."

HENRY PARTRIDGE STRONG.

From 1853 to 1883 one of the most influential and potent personalities of Beloit was Dr. Henry Partridge Strong. Born in Brownington, Vermont, February 8, 1832, he came to Beloit in July, 1853, his parents, Elijah G. and Sarah P. Strong, and the other members of their family having preceded him in 1851. He was the oldest of three sons, all of whom attained high rank in their chosen professions--Henry P., President of the State Medical Association; James W., President of Northfield (Minnesota) College; and William B., President of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railway system. Dr. Strong graduated from the Castleton, Vermont, Medical College with honors. Beginning the practice of medicine in Beloit in 1853, his high attainments and positive, outspoken convictions soon placed him in the front rank with those who create and moved public opinion and give direction and energy to public progress. As the years passed, he was recognized as the head of the medical profession in his city, and as a leader in municipal, educational and political affairs. An ardent Republican in politics, and with his veins running full of the patriotic blood of his sires of the Green Mountain State, he entered the military service of the country in 1861 as the surgeon of the Eleventh Wisconsin Infantry, in which he continued until, broken in health, he was forced to retire in 1863, at which time he was Surgeon-in-Chief of the Fourteenth Division of the Thir-

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teenth Army Corps. As soon as his health permitted, he resumed the practice of his profession, and from that time until his death his interest in public affairs knew no abatement. He was called upon to fill many local offices. He was five times elected Mayor of Beloit; he was a member of the School Board for many years; he filled honorable appointive State positions, and in 1870 was appointed Postmaster, which office he held continuously until his death, June 20, 1883, at the age of 51 years. Dr. Strong was a man who made friends and kept them. Genial, generous, sympathetic, high-spirited and frank to brusqueness, his friendship was prized by all who secured it. Hating hyprocrisy, shams and deceitfulness with an intense hatred, he was at no pains to conceal it, and while making some robust enemies he found his compensation in the unfaltering loyalty of his wide circle of friends. In 1857 Dr. Strong married Sarah, daughter of Rev. Dexter Clary, of Beloit. Seven sons and two daughters were born to him, of whom but one, a son, survived him.

ROMANZO BUNN.

Judge Romanzo Bunn's public career in Wisconsin began in the fall of 1856, when he was residing at Galesville, Trempealeau county, and was elected to the office of District Attorney, the salary of which at that time was about one hundred dollars a year. He held the office four or five years, during which time its emoluments increased threefold. In the fall of 1859 the Republicans elected him to the State Assembly. In the spring of 1868, having meanwhile removed to Sparta, he was elected Judge of the Sixth Judicial Circuit of Wisconsin, comprising the counties of La Crosse, Vernon, Monroe, Trempealeau, Buffalo, Jackson and Clark. At the end of his first term of six years he was reëlected without opposition, upon a call signed by every lawyer in his Circuit. In 1877, J. C. Hopkins, United States District Judge for the Western District of Wisconsin, died in office, and the United States Senators, together with the entire bar of the District, recommended Judge Bunn to the President as one eminently fitted to fill the vacancy. President Hayes

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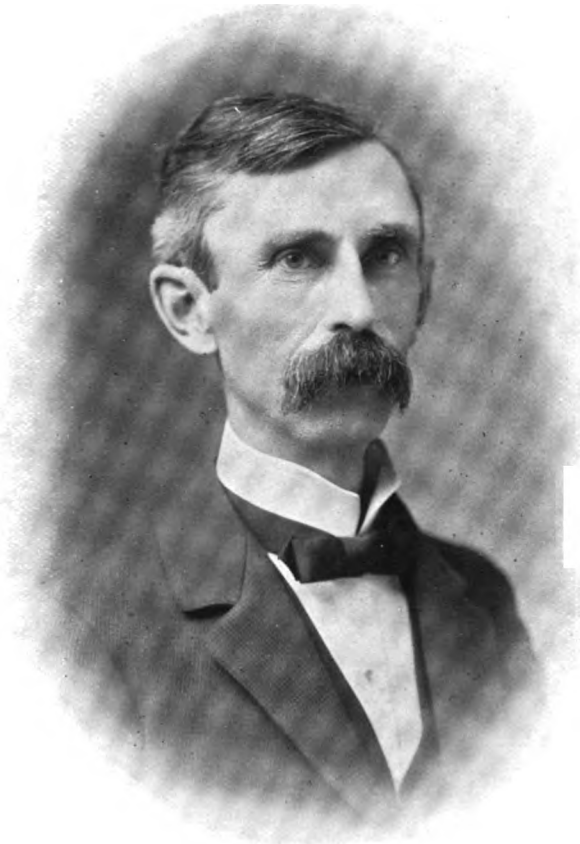

H. C. Adams

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made the appointment, Judge Bunn's commission as District Judge bearing date of October 30, 1877, and he has held the high office ever since. In 1872 Judge Bunn was a Presidential elector, casting his vote for Gen. Grant. For seven years he was a lecturer in the Law school of the University of Wisconsin, at Madison, and for two years a lecturer in the law school of the Northwestern University, at Chicago. Judge Bunn was born at Hartwick, Otsego county, New York, September 24, 1829. His father, Peter Bunn, was a farmer, of Dutch descent. His mother was of English and Scotch blood. Her ancestors came over in the Mayflower. In 1832 the family removed to Cattaraugus county, New York, settling upon a heavily timbered tract of a hundred acres in the town of Mansfield, where the boy resided until he was 16 years of age. Then he went to school at Springville Academy, working his way by chopping wood, harvesting, clearing land, and performing other hard manual labor, as his parents were very poor. By persistent manual toil, and by teaching, when he could procure employment at that, he earned enough not only to carry him through the Academy, but also to support himself while he was studying law. In the spring of 1849 he went to Oberlin College, where he stayed part of one term, returning to New York State to teach school during the winter. In the fall of 1853 he was admitted to the bar at Angelica, Alleghany county. He went into partnership with William H. Wood at Ellicottville, remaining for one year. In August, 1854, he married Miss Sarah Purdy, a school teacher, and in September removed to Sparta, Wisconsin, settling in Trempealeau in February, 1855, for the purpose of entering a claim upon some land. That winter was spent by the bride in teaching school, and by the groom in chopping and banking wood upon the Mississippi river. In May of that year was born his eldest son, Charles W. Bunn, who now resides in St. Paul, and is general counsel for the Northern Pacific Railroad. During the following fall and winter he resided on Beaver Creek, in a house which, with one man's assistance, he built in a day. In the spring of 1856 he sold his claim for $400 and removed to Galesville, operating a small farm and attending to such minor

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legal matters as came up in an unsettled country. There, soon after, began his public career, set forth above. Besides the son already referred to, Judge Bunn has four other children, two sons and two daughters. The sons are George L. Bunn, born at Sparta in 1865, who is a lawyer, residing at St. Paul, and who since December, 1896, has been one of the District Judges in that city, and John M. Bunn, who lives at Spokane, Washington, and is one of the attorneys for the Northern Pacific railroad at that place.

JOSEPH V. QUARLES.

Joseph V. Quarles was born at Southport, now Kenosha, Wisconsin, December 16, 1843. He passed through the public schools and was graduated from the High school of his native city at the age of seventeen, after which he spent two years in teaching and other work, to procure the money necessary for his expenses at college. In 1862 he entered the University of Michigan as a freshman, but soon left his books, and took part in the war for the preservation of the Union, being mustered into service as first lieutenant of Company C, Thirty-ninth Regiment of Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry. When he returned from the war he went back to the University, and was graduated with the class of 1866, receiving the degree of A. B. For a year thereafter he studied in the Law department of that institution, and then his funds becoming exhausted, returned to Kenosha, where he entered the office of O. S. Head, with whom, on being admitted to the bar in 1868, he formed a partnership, the firm name being Head & Quarles. The firm continued until the death of Mr. Head in 1875, and during six years of its existence Mr. Quarles was District Attorney of Kenosha county. In 1876 he was elected Mayor of Kenosha. In 1877 and 1878 he was President of the Kenosha School Board; in 1879 a member of the Legislative Assembly of the State, and in 1880 and 1881 the representative of Kenosha and Walworth counties in the State Senate, taking a leading part in legislation and making upon his fellow-members so favorable an impression that in the contest over the succession to the United States Senatorship, he received

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several votes for that high office. Removing to Racine, he entered into a law partnership with John B. Winslow, which continued until that gentleman was elected Judge of the First Judicial Circuit. Afterward Mr. Quarles had for partners, successively, T. W. Spence and Joseph R. Dyer. Subsequently the firm became Quarles, Spence & Quarles, the junior member being a younger brother, and in 1888 it removed to Milwaukee, where it soon took a leading place and commanded a large and diversified business. Despite the pressure of his professional duties, Mr. Quarles has always liberally responded during important campaigns to requests for services on the stump in behalf of the principles and candidates of the Republican party. As an orator he has few equals in the country at the present time. His brilliant talents, his high character, his engaging address and his distinguished services to the party, made him the choice of a large number of Republicans in all parts of the State for the seat in the United States Senate which was to become vacant at the expiration of the term of John L. Mitchell. The Republicans had an overwhelming majority in the Legislature, a condition of things which developed strong competition for the honor. But from the start the voters for Mr. Quarles in the Republican Legislative caucus were in a large plurality, and they refused to be stampeded. When after protracted balloting it became evident that the Quarles column could not be broken, and that it was time for the supporters of the other candidates to vote for their second choice, the fact developed that he was second choice of all who had not been with him from the beginning. His election was received with great popular approval.

A. J. SCHMITZ.

Adolph J. Schmitz was born in Manitowoc county, Wisconsin, June 4, 1852, and received his common school education at a country district school in his native county. Entering the University of Wisconsin in 1871, he continued there as a student until 1875, when he was graduated from the Law department. In the latter year he entered upon the practice of law at Mani-

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towoc, continuing there, in the practice of his profession, until 1896, the last fifteen years of the time as the partner of the Hon. Michael Kirwan, now the Circuit Judge of the Fourth Judicial Circuit of Wisconsin. In 1896 Mr. Schmitz became a resident of Milwaukee and a partner in the law firm of O'Connor, Hammel & Schmitz, of which he is now a member. Mr. Schmitz has always been a Democrat, and ever since reaching his majority has taken an active part in politics. He is a graceful, logical and effective orator, and has delivered speeches in every campaign since the fall of 1876. In 1876 he was elected District Attorney of Manitowoc county, an office which he held for ten years, though not consecutively. He has been a member of almost every Democratic State Convention since 1878, and in 1892 represented his Congressional District in the Democratic National Convention, held at Chicago. The Democratic State Convention of 1894 nominated him as the candidate of the party for the office of Lieutenant Governor, against his wishes expressed on the floor of the Convention hall. In 1896 Mr. Schmitz heartily supported the platform of his party adopted at Chicago, and the Presidential candidate nominated on that platform—William Jennings Bryan. As in previous campaigns, he delivered many speeches for his party, in various parts of the State. Mr. Schmitz is now the President of the Milwaukee County Bryan Club. He has been chairman of the Manitowoc County Campaign Committee during several campaigns, and has also been a member of the Democratic State Central Committee.

EDGAR G. MILLS.

Edgar G. Mills, who represents the Eleventh District in the State Senate, is a self-made man. His father, John Mills, was of Welsh and English descent and came to this country alone when but eight years of age, and was by trade a chairmaker. He located at Horicon and Auroraville, in this State, the latter place being the birthplace of his son Edgar. John Millls was killed in the Indian massacre of New Ulm, Minnesota, when the subject of this sketch was scarcely three years old. Mr. Mills' mother

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was of Scotch and German ancestry, the Scotch largely predominating. She was a hard-working Christian woman. Three years after the death of her first husband she married John J. Wood of Berlin, Wis., with whom she lived until her death in 1895. Mr. Wood was an intelligent and high-minded man, a millwright by trade, and had much to do with the development of his stepson. The education of Mr. Mills was obtained under difficulties, such as portray the individuality early in life. He left the Berlin High School to engage in bookkeeping and as clerk in one of the large retail grocery stores of his home city. It was always his ambition to become a lawyer, and the same difficulties that were surmounted in securing his common school education were overcome again in acquiring his legal education. The great diversity of occupation followed by Mr. Mills, when young, is accounted for by the fact that whenever a sufficient sum of money had been accumulated for subsistence during a short period of study, he would return to his law books. During his study of the law, he at intervals worked on the farm and in the grocery store, taught school, clerked on a steamboat plying between Berlin and Oshkosh, and read law between ports, traveled as salesman for a large milling concern of Berlin, and assisted in editing and reporting on the Berlin Daily and Weekly Journal, and on the side constructed telephone lines running into Berlin, after which he completed his study of the law and removed to St. Cloud, Minnesota, where in 1886 he was admitted to the bar, and immediately entered into practice and enjoyed a very successful career of five years, when he removed to his native State and located at the enterprising city of West Superior, where he now resides and practices law. Mr. Mills was married in 1889 to Miss Sarah W. Chadbourne, daughter of ex-Assemblyman C. H. Chadbourne, of Princeton, Minnesota. They have two sons. Mrs. Mills is a talented and pleasant woman, and a hard worker in church and charitable matters. Mr. Mills' political career began long before he was of age. He with other young men placed a ticket in the field at Berlin when none of them could vote, and later on carried a part of it through. His first real active personal work in politics was in 1886 at St. Cloud, Minnesota, when he ran for District

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Attorney on the Republican ticket. The county had a normal Democratic majority of 3,100 out of a total vote of 7,000, yet so active and energetic was the campaign put up by Mr. Mills that he lacked only 350 votes of being elected. He was delegate to the Minnesota State Convention in 1890 for Knute Nelson for Governor. He soon took front rank in politics after locating at Superior, and was elected delegate to Republican State and Congressional Conventions in 1892, 1894 and 1896, and seconded the nomination of Nils P. Haugen for Congress in 1892 and R. M. La Follette for Governor in 1896. In 1892, after a residence in the county of only about a year and a half, he was elected by a handsome majority to the Assembly from Douglas county, running against the fusion nominee of the Democratic and People's party. He took an active part in legislation in 1893 and served on the Judiciary and Railroad Committees. He was largely instrumental in forcing the Democrats to pass the present Railroad Co-Employe Law. His position has always been against the monopolies and trusts and large corporations which maintain strong lobbies at Madison. In 1894 the delegation from Douglas county to the Congressional Convention was instructed for E. G. Mills for Congress, and then followed one of the hottest campaigns ever witnessed in the Tenth Congressional District. In 1896 Mr. Mills campaigned throughout the Tenth Congressional District during the McKinley campaign for the Republican ticket. In 1898 he was nominated by the Republicans for the State Senate for the district composed of Burnett, Douglas and Polk counties, and was elected, receiving 5,332 votes, against 639 for his Democratic opponent. He was chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations, and a member of the Committees on Town and County Organization and Judiciary in the Senate in 1899. He voted for and aided in the passage of such bills as those compelling the recognition of labor unions, regulating the payment of wages by time-checks, largely increasing taxes of life insurance companies, establishing the Interstate Park in Polk county, providing for the State survey of the Northern Wisconsin copper country, and various other measures directly in the interest of the common people. His bill to increase the taxes of all railroad companies

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Respectfully Yours
E. H. Miller.

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in the State was the only one on the subject introduced at that session of the Legislature and had much to do with the establishing of the Tax Commission to which that subject was referred.

HENRY FINK.

Henry Fink was born in Rhenish Bavaria, September 7, 1840, and came to Wisconsin with his parents when he was twelve years of age. Reaching manhood when the county was aflame with the Civil War, his ardent sympathy with the Federal cause induced him to enter the army, and he served with the Twenty-sixth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry until disabled at the battle of Chancellorsville by a wound the marks of which he bears to-day. From 1870 to 1874 he was a member of the Milwaukee Board of Supervisors. He was twice elected to the State Legislature, serving as a member of the Assembly in 1876 and 1877. In March of the latter year President Hayes appointed him United States Marshal for the Eastern District of Wisconsin, in which office he rendered efficient service for eight years, being reappointed by President Garfield. On the 1st of July, 1889, under appointment by President Harrison, he entered upon the duties of Collector of Internal Revenue, holding the office until the close of Harrison's administration, and making a record which, on the return of the Republican party to power, induced President McKinley to reappoint him. His present term as Collector of Internal Revenue began on the 1st of August, 1897. Mr. Fink is a logical, eloquent and effective speaker. A master of two languages, the German and the English, he has been of great service to the Republican party on the stump in many campaigns. He belongs to the class of orators—not a large one, by any means—who can be sent into doubtful districts with implicit reliance upon their good temper, their knowledge and their discretion. In Indiana, in Kansas, in Nebraska, and in other States, as well as in Wisconsin, Mr. Fink has performed missionary labors in hot and close campaigns. He possesses a broad knowledge of the principles of economics and the facts of history. Sound money and the Republican protective tariff have had in him an earnest champion. Not lacking in

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enthusiasm, he is always clear and practical, addressing himself not to men's prejudices, but to their reason. Since Mr. Fink came to this State, in 1852, he has lived in Milwaukee county uninterruptedly, except during his service in the army.

HENRY C. PAYNE.

The history of Wisconsin politics will be vainly searched for a more dashing, brilliant, magnetic, resourceful leader than Henry C. Payne. He was born at Ashfield, Franklin county, Massachusetts, November 23, 1843, the son of Orrin P. and Eliza (Ames) Payne, both of his parents being members of families of English descent which had flourished in New England since a short time after the landing of the colony of the Mayflower. He attended the common schools, and was graduated from Shelburne Falls Academy in 1859. At the beginning of the Civil War he enlisted in Company H, Tenth Regiment, Massachusetts Infantry, but his youthfulness and somewhat diminutive stature thwarted his ambition to become a soldier. Coming to Milwaukee in 1863, with fifty dollars in his pocket, he found employment as a clerk in a dry goods store, rising rapidly by reason of his efficiency to a confidential position, and within five years embarking on his own account. Later he conducted an insurance agency. He was in these years an active member of the Young Men's Library Association, and was elected its President, an honor which was as Carlyle would say "significant of much," for the Young Men's Association was at that time one of the leading social and intellectual institutions of the West. The large and valuable collection of books which it possessed has since become the nucleus of the Milwaukee Public Library. It was in the campaign of 1872 that Mr. Payne first became conspicuous in politics, as the organizer of the Young Men's Republican Club of Milwaukee, which subsequently developed into the existing Republican County Committee. Milwaukee was at that time overwhelmingly Democratic, but the systematic work instituted by Mr. Payne eventually brought it into the Republican fold and kept it there for many years. He served at different times as Secretary and Chairman of the city

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and county organizations, exhibiting ability and energy which were recognized and admired throughout the State and led to his election to the chairmanship of the Republican State Central Committee and later to his designation by the Republicans of Wisconsin as their representative in the National Committee of the party. In that capacity he has been a leading spirit not only in the planning and management of national campaigns, but also in the determination of party policies and the construction of the national platforms. In 1880 he was a delegate to the National Republican Convention at Chicago and was one of the men to whose initiative was due the nomination of Gen. James A. Garfield. In 1888 he was a delegate-at-large to the National Republican Convention which nominated Gen. Benjamin Harrison. In 1892 he headed the Wisconsin delegation to the National Convention of the party at Minneapolis, and in 1896, at St. Louis, his influence as a member of the National Committee was strongly exerted in behalf of the plank in the platform of that year which squarely committed the party to the maintenance of the gold standard. He is still a member of the National Committee, and is recognized throughout the country as one of the most influential and active of that group of able men. In 1876 President Grant appointed Mr. Payne Postmaster at Milwaukee. He was reappointed successively by Presidents Hayes and Arthur, serving for ten years, and making a record which has rarely been equaled and never surpassed. On his retirement from the postoffice, in 1886, he became interested in large business enterprises in which his talent for organization and management was rewarded by conspicuous success. Since 1885 he has been President of the Wisconsin Telephone Company. He was for several years President of the Milwaukee & Northern Railroad Company. He is one of the directors of the First National Bank of Milwaukee, and has for years held the important position of Vice President of the Milwaukee Electric Railway & Light Company, which owns and operates the street railway system of Milwaukee, with branches extending to several suburban cities. The American Street Railway Association elected him as its President in 1893. In August of that year, when the affairs of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company neces-

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sitated the placing of its affairs in the hands of receivers, Mr. Payne was appointed by the United States Courts one of the conservators of this vast interest, amounting in value to hundreds of millions of dollars—one of the most important trusts ever committed in whole or in part to a citizen of Wisconsin. These are not all of the great financial interests in the conduct of which Mr. Payne has borne an important part. He has been concerned in the founding and building up of flourishing towns in the timber belt of Wisconsin, and in other enterprises which have contributed to the development and the material prosperity of the State. In 1876 Mr. Payne was married to Miss Lydia W. Van Dyke, a descendant of one of the colonial families of New York.

CHARLES M. HAMBRIGHT.

Charles M. Hambright was born in Racine County, July 7, 1845, and received his education in the public schools. When four years of age he moved, with his parents, to Oak Grove, Dodge County, where he spent his time on a farm in summer and at school in winter. On the last call for volunteers by President Lincoln in the winter of 1864-5, he enlisted in the Fifty-third Regiment Wisconsin Volunteers, and was mustered out at the close of the war. On his return from military service, he went into the office of the Beaver Dam Woolen Mills and from there, in April, 1867, to the Racine Woolen Mills,—Blake & Co.,—as bookkeeper, and has been with the company ever since, except in the years 1871 and 1872, when failing health compelled him to take a recess from sedentary employment, and he went to Beaver Dam and settled up the estate of Mr. Ingraham Gould, his father-in-law, who died July 16, 1871. When in Beaver Dam he served as Alderman for two years. In one of these years he was also a member of the County Board of Dodge County. He was elected to the State Assembly from the City of Racine in 1894, receiving 2,119 votes against 1,185 for Peter Galloway, Democrat, 1,288 for Andrew Hanson, Populist, and 113 for J. B. Corse, Prohibitionist. Mr. Hambright was a candidate for the nomination for State Treasurer on the Republican ticket in 1898. He was treasurer of the Republican

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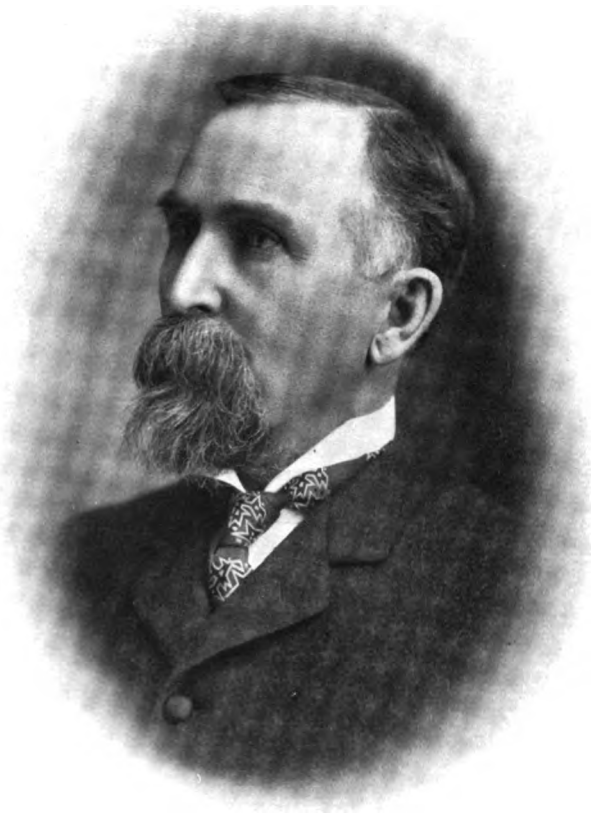

C. M. Hambright

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County Committee during the Harrison campaign, and chairman of the Republican City Committee in 1896. In 1897 he was Sergeant-at-Arms of the State Assembly. He is a stockholder, a director and the secretary of the Racine Woolen Mills, and president of the Hambright-Graebner Company, doing a merchant tailoring business at Racine. He is also a director in the Racine Business Men's Association of which he was one of the founders.

CHARLES H. PARKER.

Among the prominent business men of Wisconsin who have taken a leading part in politics, not because they were eager for the honors or emoluments of office, but because they believed active participation in public affairs to be a duty incumbent upon good citizenship, was Charles H. Parker, of Beloit. Born at Newton Corners, Mass., November 16, 1814, he removed to Dedham, in the same State, when 10 years old, and to Canton when 16. His education was acquired in the common schools. In 1837, he removed to Concord, New Hampshire, and eleven years later, in 1848, being then in the thirty-fifth year of his age, he came West, settling first at Belvidere, Illinois, and in the following year removing to Beloit, Wisconsin, where he remained till his death, March 14, 1890. He was the senior member of the firm of Parker & Stone, afterward the Parker & Stone Reaper Company, of which he was President. It was in their shop and under their supervision that the Appleby Twine-binder was invented and brought to the front, the firm of Parker & Stone owning a one-third interest in the patents. On the 1st of July, 1882, Mr. Parker established the Second National Bank of Beloit, and was elected its President, which position he held until his death. Mr. Parker was for nearly twenty-five years a member of the City Council of Beloit, his service in that body beginning in 1857, and was four times Mayor of the city —the first time in 1861. He was repeatedly a member of the County Board of Supervisors. In 1868 and again in 1869 he represented the Republicans of his district in the State Assembly. Naturally a Republican, he was among the members of his party who differed from it on the financial question in the period immediately preced-

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ing, and following the Resumption of Specie Payments. In 1877 he accepted the nomination of the Greenbackers, and was elected to the State Assembly on that ticket. In 1879 he was the candidate on the Greenback-Fusion ticket for member of Congress, running against Charles G. Williams, who was elected. One who knew him well has summed up his character in the following words: "Mr. Parker took a deep interest in public affairs, municipal, State and National. He was a forceful speaker, and in a high degree had the courage of his convictions. Republican in politics, he did much to advance the cause of Republicanism in his city and county. Honest in all his dealings, he had the confidence of his fellow citizens. Generous and impulsive, he made few enemies and attracted many friends."

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